

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 282 051

CE 047 225

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TITLE Immigration, Adult Education and Multiculturalism in Australia.
INSTITUTION Australian National Univ., Canberra. Centre for Continuing Education.
REPORT NO ISBN-0-9587728-0-0
PUB DATE 86
NOTE 163p.
AVAILABLE FROM Centre for Continuing Education, Australian National University, GPO Box 4, Canberra, Australian Capital Territory 2601 (\$20.00; 20 or more--20% discount).
PUB TYPE Information Analyses (070)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC07 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Adult Basic Education; *Adult Education; Attitude Change; Comparative Education; *Cultural Pluralism; Educational Attitudes; *Educational Philosophy; *Educational Policy; English (Second Language); Foreign Countries; *Immigrants; Migration; Multicultural Education; Postsecondary Education; Second Language Instruction; Vietnamese People
IDENTIFIERS *Australia

ABSTRACT

The study described in this report reviews adult education relevant to immigration and multiculturalism in Australia. The report is presented in three parts. The first part examines the background and context of adult education programs intended for immigrants and for a multicultural society. The first of two chapters presents the historical and social background of immigration policies and practices since World War II, and the second chapter sketches the development of adult education within this context. The central part of the report, containing six chapters, reviews the main programs and practices of adult education for immigrants and for a multicultural society. Chapter 3 examines on-arrival and ongoing programs; chapter 4 describes the programs and approaches within technical and further education in New South Wales. Chapter 5 contains an account of relevant work in universities and colleges, especially concerning English as a second language. The next chapter looks at efforts toward the enrichment of knowledge in a multicultural society for both non-English speaking and Anglo-Celtic groups. Chapter 7 looks at the severe problems confronting those with overseas qualifications who are seeking recognition and the right to practice in Australia. Finally, adult education intended to change attitudes is analyzed in chapter 8. The third part of the report discusses meanings, perceptions, attitudes and responses concerning multiculturalism in chapter 9, as a lead-in to more specific issues as they affect education. Chapter 10 is a case study of Vietnamese people in Sydney. The concluding chapter draws together the implications of the report. (KC)

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IMMIGRATION, ADULT EDUCATION AND MULTICULTURALISM
IN AUSTRALIA

Christopher Duke

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ANU
Canberra
1986

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National Library of Australia card number: ISBN 0 9587728 0 0

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABC	Australian Broadcasting Commission
ACTU	Australian Council of Trade Unions
AIMA	Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs
AMEC	Australian Medical Examining Council
AMEP	Adult Migrant Education Program
AMES	Adult Migrant Education Service
ARE	Australians for Racial Equality
ASLPR	Australian Second Language Proficiency Ratings
BHP	Broken Hill Proprietary Limited
CAE	College of Advanced Education
CHAMES	Clearing House for the Adult Migrant Education Service
CHOMI	Clearing House on Migration Issues
COPAPS	Committee on Post-Arrival Programs and Services
COPQ	Council on Overseas Professional Qualifications
CTEC	Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission
DIEA	Commonwealth Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs
ECC	Ethnic Communities Council of NSW
ESL	English As A Second Language
ESP	English for Specific Purposes
FECCA	Federation of Ethnic Communities Councils of Australia
NACCME	National Advisory and Co-ordinating Committee on Multicultural Education
NESB	Non-English-Speaking Background
NSW	New South Wales
OAEP	On-Arrival Education Program
OGEP	On-Going Education Program
PEP	Participation and Equity Program
SA	South Australia

SBS	Special Broadcasting Service
TAFE	Department of Technical and Further Education
TAFEC	Technical and Further Education Council
TESL	Teaching English as a Second or Other Language
TUTA	Trade Union Training Authority
VIC	Victoria

PREFACE

It is unfortunate that there has been a noticeable time-lag between the drafting of this report and its final publication. Regrettable as this situation may be, it has the advantage of giving the authors the opportunity to comment on the unprecedented events which have taken place in the meantime. In particular, reference needs to be made to the pertinent Government enquiries and reports which have been commissioned during this period and the dramatic effect which the August 1986 Federal Budget has had on the policy of multiculturalism in Australia.

Since the preparation of this report in May 1985, there have been three major Federal Government reviews which are directly related to the area of public policy with which we are concerned here. Towards Active Voice, the Report of the Committee of Review of the Adult Migrant Program (AMEP) was tabled in November 1985. Although the review confirmed many of the findings made in this report, the general thrust was that at this present point of development of the AMEP, there should be consolidation and improvement in the quality of services rather than expansion and the modest recommendations, (in the words of the Committee of Review) have been designed for those ends. The review found that the allocation of existing resources within the AMEP resulted in inadequate learning opportunities for many of the participants. In fact, it recommended that the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs commission a major study to develop an 'index of need' which could be used to determine priorities in a more systematic and equitable way.

A second event which warrants mention is the development which followed the release of the Senate Standing Committee's Report on A National Language Policy in 1985. In mid-June 1986 the Minister for Education, the Hon. Senator Susan Ryan, appointed a consultant to prepare a proposal for an implementation policy. \$100,000 was allocated for implementing the policy in 1987. At present the draft policy is being considered by all State and Territory Governments before final endorsement by the Federal Government.

A third report of major significance has been Don't Settle for Less, the Report of the Committee for Stage I of the Review of Migrant and Multicultural Programs and Services (ROMAMPAS), part one of which was tabled in Parliament in November 1986. The report recommended a comprehensive strategy for helping Australians of overseas origin to participate freely and fairly, in all aspects of Australia's multicultural society, stressing the 'access and equity' approach to meeting migrant needs. With particular reference to the Review of the Adult Migrant Education Program mentioned above, the observation was made that problems have persisted in spite of the Federal Government's substantial allocation of funds to such programs in recent years. The report concluded that there was a limit to what could be achieved by measures aimed at overcoming these problems until the education and training systems as a whole accepted responsibility for ensuring that one fifth to one quarter of the total population from non-English speaking backgrounds have equitable access to the learning provisions available in the community.

Finally, this brief introduction cannot conclude without reference to what has appeared to many as the apparent dramatic reversal of the Federal Government's policy on multiculturalism as epitomised in the August 1986 Federal Budget cuts. In spite of strong denials by the Prime Minister, Bob Hawke, the Minister for Immigration, Chris Hurford and the Minister for Education, Senator Susan Ryan that there was any betrayal of the policy of multiculturalism, the outcry from ethnic groups and the community at large has been difficult to quell.

Although it is not appropriate for a full-scale debate on the matter to take place here, a number of significant points need to be highlighted. The Adult Migrant Education Program appears to have been one of the programs which had fared well with a four per cent cut in real terms due to inflation.

The most stringent cuts made as a result of the Government's drive to increase the efficiency of the public sector and reduce the deficit appear to have been made in areas where there have been little cost savings in real terms. For instance, the abolition of the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs (AIMA) and the setting up in its place of an Office of Multicultural Affairs within the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs caused such a furore in the ethnic communities that the Government conceded that an Office should be set up within the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet in order that multicultural affairs would have a higher profile in government policy making. The concern of the ethnic communities was not so much for the loss of the AIMA which had undergone much criticism (and, in fact, three government reviews!) since its inception in 1980, but rather a deep concern for the loss of what it stood for. AIMA had been the only statutory authority which could give independent advice on multicultural policy to the Government. In the eyes of the ethnic communities the removal of the independent body established to monitor the delivery of the Federal Government's multicultural services and programs made questionable the Government's stated commitment to access and equity for ethnic minorities in Australia.

Furthermore, in the eyes of many, two issues stood out from the Budget as providing a death-blow to the policy of multiculturalism. The first was the announcement of the amalgamation of the Special Broadcasting Service (SBS) with the ABC. Because of the Government's earlier announcement in March 1986 that the SBS was to become a corporation with an independent charter, this act was interpreted as a clear betrayal and turn-around. In addition, the Federal Budget cuts to the English Second Language (ESL) program in schools by 44.75 per cent was regarded as unforgivable by the ethnic communities. Mass rallies in capital cities throughout Australia denouncing the Federal Government for its betrayal of multiculturalism, petitions to parliament, debates in the press, on radio and television and sympathetic media coverage, made the Government aware that there was now a revival in ethnic power politics which could not be suppressed.

The upshot of all this has been some quick rethinking and reshuffling of funds by the Government as far as the ESL program is concerned. In October 1986 the Prime Minister announced that the Federal/State Resource Agreement would be reduced by \$4.8 million in order to make up for the shortfall in ESL funding. However, because this was merely a stop-gap measure to continue the ESL program for 1987, the ethnic communities and teachers organisations have not been appeased by this conciliatory step.

In fact, the question of the amalgamation of the SBS with the ABC remains a very contentious issue. The second reading of the ABC/SBS Amalgamation Bill in November 1986 resulted in the Opposition rejecting the Bill and recommending that the Senate Standing Committee on Education and the Arts report on the Government's reasons for proposing amalgamation. The future of this Government decision concerning the SBS remains to be seen.

One positive feature of the Federal Government's budget cuts to multicultural programs has been the mobilisation once again of ethnic groups throughout Australia into a strong political force to be reckoned with. By taking measures which can be interpreted as a rejection or betrayal of multiculturalism, the Government risks a return to the narrow assimilationist approach of over

thirty years ago and sowing the seeds for future problems the consequences of which may be far greater than those of our present short term economic ills. From these events the ethnic minority groups have learned that they cannot rest on their laurels, basking in the achievement of the late 1970s. Rather they fully realise that they need to be ever vigilant of all aspects of government policy concerning multiculturalism and that they need to ensure that their voice is heard.

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CANBERRA

31 December 1986

INTRODUCTION

Purposes and Assumptions

This study attempts, with limited time and very limited resources, to review adult education relevant to immigration and multiculturalism in contemporary Australia. It is part of a three-country comparative analysis. To facilitate comparison with the United Kingdom and Canada, and to make the study comprehensible to non-Australians, it sets out the historical context and evolution since the Second World War, and calls attention to relevant social, economic and political features of Australia. Even without such an international comparative purpose, and an agreed framework for the three parallel country studies, such a broad, context-related approach is judged essential if the analysis is to have meaning and possible utility. The intention is indeed essentially utilitarian: by reviewing the experience of the past forty, and especially the past fifteen, years, to identify changing assumptions, trends, policies, programs - and changing needs and community responses - which may suggest better strategies for the future. The study seeks to be practical, applied, policy-oriented.

In preparing this report, the authors hold certain values and make certain assumptions which may properly be identified at the outset. One is that adult education is principally a means to various individual and social ends, and as such is a legitimate instrument of policy. It is not, on the other hand, perceived as an independent variable, or as a major source and engine of social change: claims and expectations should be modest, yet good can be achieved providing adult education efforts take accurate account of context and purposes, and accurately relate to felt needs of those for whom they are intended. Another assumption is that "multiculturalism" is a desirable objective for Australian society, one to which it is proper to allocate resources and bend adult education efforts. Not that the term is beyond ideological disputation or terminological ambiguity, but that the idea of people of different ethnic, linguistic and "cultural" background and orientation living together in one society is inherently reasonable and indeed attractive. ("Immigration" also is taken as a given, although its diminished scale in recent years makes it of minor significance, with the spasmodic exception of the intake of refugees.)

Another assumption is that "adult education" is very broad, encompassing all the means whereby those defined as adult by their society may be assisted by some deliberate means to advance their learning. It includes formal courses arranged through the technical and further education colleges and other parts of the formal schooling system for adults, but also those kinds of adult education commonly called "nonformal" which take place outside the main stream of regular education, whether on the campuses of educational institutions or in the community or at the workplace. It extends also into those areas sometimes (and with doubtful logic) described as informal education: deliberate activities having some other primary or overt purpose where there is the possibility of a - possibly powerful - educative effect, or spinoff. Most obviously included here are the (other than explicitly educational) influences of the mass media. Activities at the informal end of the spectrum may be particularly effective in the intangible, attitudinal or affective, domain least comfortably addressed by the formal education system, but of particular importance if the intention is to "build a multicultural society".

A fourth assumption is that if there is an "ethnic problem" it is the problem and responsibility of the whole society, and of all the communities and interest groups within what is too casually and cloyingly called "the Australian

community". It follows that adult education efforts directed towards "multiculturalism", and indeed to immigration, must take account of the learning needs of all Australians, and not merely of immigrant and ethnic minorities.

The Context of the Study

Implications derived from this study, if they are to have any possibility of being put to good use, must relate accurately to the particular and in some respects unique features of Australia. Least tangible here are the beliefs and myths that constitute Australian "character" and "culture". These include the tradition of easy egalitarianism and mateship, of "a fair go", often implied as part of the "lucky country" image. Balancing tolerance and easy acceptance of others there are other ascribed characteristics relevant to multicultural aspirations: a possible national defensiveness and lack of confidence in identity which can make for brash "ockerism"; and, less subjective and more demonstrable, a history of ethnocentrism manifest in the former "White Australia" policy and echoed from time to time in more recent political events - the campaign against Immigration Minister Grassby in the early 70s, the "Blainey affair" a decade later.

The historian Blainey well identified some distinctive Australian characteristics in The Tyranny of Distance. Small population, and huge distances within and beyond Australia, contributed to sense of isolation and distance from Europe. Increasing the European population for security and development was a major priority for national policy after the World War II. Australia now has probably the highest proportion of immigrants and greatest diversity of immigrant groups of any society other than Israel; yet much of the massive post-War sponsored immigration was in part a reaction to a supposed threat of Asian immigration or invasion, and so ethnocentric rather than multicultural in character. The evolution of both official and popular terminology to refer to those other than of British origin from the post-War years to the 80s reflects the shift from out-and-out assimilationism with strong racist undertones to official pluralism and greater popular appreciation of diversity. A major shift may be discerned ten to fifteen years ago: both a dramatic reduction in the scale of immigration and a major shift in the direction of multiculturalism, personified and accelerated by the Labor Minister for Immigration, Grassby. Since then the scale of general immigration has been a technical and administrative rather than a political consideration, with the exception of refugee intake essentially from Indochina; it was this non-European refugee population which was the main focus, explicit or implied, of the "Blainey debate" in 1984, and which, incidentally, spilled over into public discussion about the numbers of South-East Asians coming to Australia as tertiary students, during that year.

Two other distinctive Australian features are relevant. The first is the existence and political - and even, to the dominant population, now, "cultural" - significance of the indigenous Aboriginal peoples. For political and policy purposes Aborigines have in the main kept apart and been treated separately from immigrant communities and their needs. This brief study makes no attempt to record or appraise the influence of the Aboriginal population and Aboriginal policies on attitudes and policies touching immigrant groups. Nevertheless, the existence of a culturally very different indigenous population which is both cherished as uniquely Australian (a source for pride or a totem like the koala bear?) and also unappreciated and often abused and despised as primitive and unproductive, cannot be irrelevant to attitudes and practices to do with multiculturalism. Very recently Aboriginal and other ethnic community leaders and representatives have tended to find common ground and to join forces over certain issues of public policy.

The other feature relevant to this study, which distinguishes Australia from Britain but links it with Canada, is its federal constitution. This makes it extraordinarily difficult, over a subject like adult education, to make generalisations or even to assemble data which refer accurately to the whole country. Education is a State rather than a federal responsibility, although some Federal Departments have advisory and funding roles in relation to migrant education. Adult education (especially as here broadly understood) is frequently a marginal, incidental, poorly documented, ancillary function of institutions and agencies having other, primary, purposes. While these latter characteristics are in essence common to the three countries compared in the larger study of which this is a part, the particular complications generated by a federal system are shared only with Canada; here the situation is similar, but by no means identical.

Finally, an aspect of the context perhaps more obviously common to all three countries but less acute in Australia generally than in at least the northern half of Britain, is the economic difficulties generating persisting high unemployment. This affects adult education for immigrants and towards multiculturalism in the direct sense of representing a constraint on public expenditure which tends to affect ambiguous and "soft policy" areas like adult education with severity. Indirectly high unemployment and recession tend to produce a toughening of attitudes which may manifest itself in racist projection of difficulties onto ethnic minorities, especially of recent arrival, and more generally in a trend away from the more liberal, humane values such as tolerance of diversity and special concern for the disadvantaged.

Methods, Limitations, Acknowledgements

Implicit in this sketch of the context of the Australian study are its limitations. It makes no pretence at being comprehensive and exhaustive nationally; indeed the more detailed study concentrates on New South Wales, Australia's most populous State, as a case study, taking within that a "snapshot" look at Vietnamese immigrant settlers, most of them recently arrived refugees, as an agreed group for comparative consideration with Britain and Canada. Time and especially resources for the study were severely limited. It contains, therefore, little new empirical and relatively little quantitative data, although it does indicate the major sources, both official reports and academic studies, for those who wish to examine the statistics more closely. An exploratory or informal sampling method was employed. The two main researchers are both well experienced in aspects of ethnic community relations, government policy in relation to multiculturalism, and adult education policy and practice for immigrants or vis-a-vis multiculturalism. Their first task was undertaking a review of reports and academic literature. Then, through selective exploration of key and illustrative examples, and by extensive interviews with ethnic community representatives and informed people in different relevant sectors, the principal researcher tested the main directions suggested by the initial literature review in an attempt to ensure that the resulting picture, which emerges in this report, was recognisable and authentic from all possible relevant perspectives. "Client perspectives" were deemed at least as important as the political, administrative and scholarly, and one of the two main formal consultations conducted in the course of the inquiry was with Vietnamese community representatives and with others working closely with them, to understand as well as possible how Australian society and its adult educational and other relevant provision was perceived from this community perspective. Towards the end of the study, a half-day seminar in the Federal Capital, Canberra, brought together members of a number of relevant government departments and instrumentalities, together with a sprinkling of senior scholars of immigration and multiculturalism as a policy area, to review the main directions and tentative conclusions of the study. These interim findings were also sent to various experienced individuals unable to attend that meeting, and their comments taken into account in the final version of the report as it now appears. The Director

of the Australian National University's Centre for Continuing Education, Dr Chris Duke, assumed formal responsibility for the Australian part of the three-country comparative study, a responsibility he shared with a senior Extension Officer and experienced adult educator within the Centre, Dorothy Davis. In 1985, Dr Chris Duke was appointed Professor of Continuing and Adult Education, University of Warwick, United Kingdom. Most of the historically oriented literature study and synthesis, which appears in chapter one, was undertaken by Vanessa Elwell-Gavins, then a member of the Centre also, but subsequently employed in the Language Education Branch of the Commonwealth Department of Education; she has for some years practised as a teacher of English to immigrants in the TAFE system as well as having experience as an adult educator with Aborigines in Central Australia and also of living in China for a lengthy period. The bulk of the empirical inquiry, fieldwork and synthesis of the draft report (with the exception of the first chapter, the last section of the final chapter, and the Vietnamese section) was undertaken by Helena Rudnik, an experienced educator and formerly ministerial level policy adviser on ethnic affairs matters in NSW, who at the time of the study was the ethnic affairs officer of the NSW Board of Adult Education, and a member of the Commonwealth Government National Advisory & Coordinating Committee on Multicultural Education (NACCME). In 1984 she completed a major review of the continuing education needs of persons of a non-English-speaking background in NSW for the NSW Board of Adult Education.

This report owes much especially to the Board of Adult Education of New South Wales which provided financial support as well as helpful cooperation, and to Helena Rudnik who came to the project through the recommendation of the Board's Chief Executive Officer, John Wellings. It also owes a debt to the Australian National University for allowing members of the Centre to devote time and effort to the study, and for support with typing and related services. Thanks are also due to the various people who, individually or in groups, contributed to the collection and analysis of information especially through the formal seminars in Sydney and Canberra; their names are listed at the end of this report.

Outline of the Report

This report is presented in three parts. The first examines the background and context of adult education programs intended for immigrants and for a multicultural society. It contains two chapters. The first presents a historical and social background to immigration policies and practices since World War II, conveying Australia's great ethnic diversity, and a major shift in policy, from assimilation to multiculturalism, in the early 70s. Changes in the society from the late 40s are sketched, together with the main policy responses, including the "refugee crisis" of Indochinese peoples from the mid-70s. The chapter concludes with a 1983 summary of the present Government's various programs and services for immigrants.

The second chapter sketches the development of adult education within this context. It notes the generally narrow definition of need, focussed almost entirely on English language, and the humble origins in 1947 of what is now the Adult Migrant Education Program (AMEP) with a budget of 44 million dollars. While there were innovations, such as the introduction of intensive full-time courses in the late 60s, the main turning-point emerges as the 1978 Galbally Report, with its 57 recommendations. The result of a 1982 Evaluation are also summarised, and the comprehensive terms of a current review of AMEP noted.

The central part of the report, containing six chapters, reviews the main programs and practices of adult education for immigrants and for a multicultural society. The State of New South Wales is the main source of information and

focus of attention, given the diversity within Australia's federal political system, but frequent reference is made to policies and practices elsewhere. The study is descriptive and analytical rather than quantitative. It adopts the comprehensive 1976 Unesco definition of adult education, and the chapters address in turn programs intended to bring about: the development of abilities; enrichment of knowledge; improvement of technical or professional skills; attitude change; and full personal development and participation in society. The unequal distribution of effort across these areas is reflected in the weight of information in this part of the report; three chapters are concerned with the development of abilities, mostly language skills, in the Adult Migrant Education Service (AMES), in Technical and Further Education (TAFE) and in the universities and colleges of advanced education; the remaining three chapters deal with the remaining four kinds of objectives and areas of adult education.

Chapter 3, on AMES, examines on-arrival and ongoing programs, including workplace English from 1973 which, while comprising only five per cent of all AMES enrolments, is seen as one of the most significant forms from a multicultural perspective; it tends to be more varied, and more specifically applied to different needs, with generally good results. The chapter reviews research, materials, curriculum and staff development activities, looks at ethnic community impressions, and indicates prospects for future expansion through the later years of this decade.

Chapter 4 describes the different programs and approaches within Technical and Further Education in New South Wales, noting the creation of a Multicultural Education Policy Unit from mid-1983, and the development of English for Special Purposes from that year. It looks at work in community languages before turning to innovations in the form of Outreach, and New Opportunities for Women (NOW) courses. Here unique needs-based approaches appear very successful, but are highly circumscribed by limited resources as well as the regulations controlling such work.

In Chapter 5 there is an account of relevant work in both sectors of higher education (as distinct from tertiary education which includes TAFE): the universities and the colleges of advanced education. The main emphasis is on English as a Second Language (ESL), but there is also work in community languages, and some activity relevant to access to both higher education and the professions, for immigrants. The work of the Committee on Overseas Professional Qualifications (COPQ) is mentioned here, and again in Chapter 7.

The next chapter looks at efforts towards the enrichment of knowledge in a multicultural society for both non-English-speaking groups and for Anglo-Celtic society. It touches on community-based nonformal education supported by grants from TAFE, on the Trade Union Training Authority (TUTA), and on cultural awareness courses for professionals working with ethnic minorities under the "Galbally 14" form of provision.

Chapter 7 looks at the severe problems, not yet adequately resolved despite some movement, which confront those with overseas qualifications seeking recognition and the right to practise in Australia, also work in occupational English.

Finally, adult education intended to effect attitude change is discussed and analysed in Chapter 8. The difficulty of bringing about desirable attitude change and promoting cultural awareness is considered, with reference to Michael Liffman's work, although several good examples of programs in this area are also cited. Efforts in the "informal sector" through radio, television, the ethnic and general press are noted. Despite the significant innovation of the Special

Broadcasting Service (SBS) there is much still to be explored and developed. The chapter concludes with a significantly brief reference to work relating to personal development and full participation as these affect immigrants and multiculturalism.

The third part of the report turns to meanings, perceptions, attitudes and responses, touching "multiculturalism", in Chapter 9, as a lead-in to more specific consideration of issues of multiculturalism as these affect adult education. This section also takes stock of the "Blainey debate", which was extremely prominent in the mass media through some months of 1984, and raised echoes of earlier, overtly ethnocentric and xenophobic attitudes and assertions, as well as providing a convenient means of stock-taking of Australian community and political attitudes to immigration, assimilation and multiculturalism. Because of the significance of Indochinese refugee immigrants in the whole Blainey affair, this part of the report also includes a case study of the needs and experiences of Vietnamese people in Sydney. The concluding chapter of Part III draws together the strands and implications of the whole report in the form of both specific and general implications for the future provision of adult education in relation to multiculturalism in Australia and perhaps, by implication, in similar societies.

References and Notes

References are sourced in the text by author and date and appear in full at the end of the report. Notes, at the end of each section, elaborate on the text where appropriate, and provide sources of newspaper articles and unpublished material such as background discussion notes and speeches.

PART 1

THE CONTEXT

IntroductionMulticulturalism and Australia in 1985

Australia in 1985 is one of the most ethnically diverse societies in the world, almost entirely as a result of immigration. With a population of some fifteen million people, living predominantly in the coastal cities and towns of its more temperate southern and southeastern regions, twenty per cent of its inhabitants were born overseas in one of at least sixty five countries. A further thirty percent of the population are "first generation Australians" with at least one parent born overseas. About 150 non-Aboriginal languages are now spoken in Australia (Parkin, 1984: 17). Only Israel can claim a proportionately higher immigrant population.

Accompanying this ethnic diversity is a policy of multiculturalism or cultural pluralism, which in recent years has enjoyed support from across Australia's political spectrum. Although "multiculturalism" in Australia was an innovation of the Labor Government elected in 1972 under the Prime Ministership of Gough Whitlam, and was specifically the brainchild of the then Minister for Immigration, Mr Al Grassby, its essence was articulated more recently by another Labor Minister for Immigration:

Ethnic groups must be free to retain and express their ethnic identity if they wish to do so, subject to Australian laws, without sacrificing their rights of equal access to the community's resources (West, 1983a: 718)

But multiculturalism was not the guiding principle which forged Australia's immigration policies. Rather, it developed as one response to the phenomenon of massive post World War immigration. Its place in Australian political development is historically very recent. Australia has not always experienced such ethnic diversity, nor such apparent tolerance for and benevolence towards those of its population who were overseas-born or of non-English-speaking descent. For the most part, Australian Government response to the presence of migrants has been xenophobic, largely hostile, or, at best, indifferent (Shergold, 1984a; Jupp, 1966), at least until the late 1960s.

Aims and summary of chapter

This chapter provides the historical, social and political context for the study of current provision of multicultural adult education in Australia. First it briefly surveys the history of immigration in Australia, identifying, where relevant, key policy responses. It then explores Australia's chief characteristics and identity at the end of World War II, prior to the period which forms the focus of this study. Section 2 examines the scale of immigration, Australian government immigrant intake policy and policy response to the presence of immigrants in the Australian community in the period post-World War II to approximately 1972. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, fundamental political, social and philosophical changes took place within Australian society, reflecting similar trends in many Western countries. Section 3 examines those changes which had implications not only for Australia's intake of migrants, but also, perhaps more importantly, for the way Australia, both government and community, reacted to and treated its immigrant and ethnic communities.[1]

Brief history of immigration, with key policy responses

Australia has always been a country inhabited by immigrants. The first Australians, the Aboriginal people, came to Australia from Southeast Asia over 40,000 years ago. They were hunter-gatherers, using simple technology, but living in complex social and linguistic units.

In 1788, the year Australia was first colonised by settlers from Europe, the Aboriginal population was estimated to be approximately 300,000. Aboriginal groups spoke about 200 languages, which could be further differentiated into about 700 dialects. Multilingualism among tribal Aborigines was and still is very widespread.[2]. It would be pleasing, but overly flattering to non-Aboriginal Australians, to see here the unconscious genesis of a multicultural, multilingual Australia. While the Aborigines had external contact with Papuans, Indonesians and Chinese over several centuries prior to the arrival of European settlers, none of these groups paid more than sporadic and short-term visits to North Australia.

The present more traditionally oriented Aboriginal population is largely confined to the north and centre of Australia, away from the major areas of population. As a result of a combination of disease, official neglect and genocide, Aboriginal people form a mere 1% (about 150,000) of Australia's current population.[3] About 50 Aboriginal languages are now extinct, while only about 50 maintain a viable speech community. Had the philosophy of multiculturalism been espoused by the earliest European colonies, the situation of Aboriginal peoples in modern Australia would probably have been very different.

While many of the problems affecting migrants in modern Australia resemble in some respects those affecting Aborigines, and some proposed solutions tend to be similar, there are great differences. The experience and intention of Aboriginal peoples is beyond the scope of this paper and too complex to be sensibly addressed in a cursory way. None the less, the existence of an earlier, non-European Australian population which suffered so drastically at the hand of the European colonisers immediately affected attitudes to other non-European groups which came to this country.

The growth of Australia's population from a small number of Aborigines to 15 million ethnically and linguistically diverse people in 1985 has resulted substantially from immigration occurring in several overlapping waves. These can be summarised as follows (Jupp, 1984; Shergold, 1984; Sherington, 1980; Yarwood & Knowling, 1982).

- 1) 1788-1840s: convict settlement from British Isles, particularly southern England and Ireland. Overseas-born formed the vast majority.
- 2) 1840s-1890s: a period of intense free migration, coinciding with the Gold Rushes, which brought Chinese, Germans and other non-British in addition to the British. Many British received assisted passages. There was a shift from an overseas-born to a locally-born majority.
- 3) 1890s-1945: limited controlled white (mainly British) migration with assistance in times of prosperity, and no migration in periods of depression (the 1890s and early 1930s). An increasing domination of the locally-born. Unofficial institution in the 1890s of what came

to be known as "the White Australia Policy", designed to keep Chinese and other non-Europeans out of Australia.[4] Non-British groups were tolerated as long as they remained inconspicuous and became assimilated into the general Australian population.

- 4) 1947-mid 1950s: assisted migration from Britain and northern Europe (particularly Germany and Holland). Substantial intake of East European refugees (Displaced Persons or DPs) from camps. Migrants and refugees were expected to assimilate rapidly.
- 5) mid-1950s-late 1960s: in addition to migration from Britain, substantial migration from Mediterranean countries, particularly Italy, Greece, Malta, Egypt and Yugoslavia. The settlement of the immigrant cost the taxpayer little because most non-British were not assisted, not housed in government hostels and not taught English. Migrants were still expected to assimilate rapidly. Failure to do so was regarded as the responsibility of the individual.
- 6) late 60s-1972: some loosening of restrictions against well-qualified non-European migrants. Recognition that not all migrants were assimilating easily. Beginnings of a change of official attitude. Migrants now being seen as social problems.
- 7) 1973-present: decline in migration from traditional sources. Labor Government abolished restrictions to immigration on racial grounds (final burial of the "White Australia Policy"), which paved the way for a substantial intake of Indochinese refugees from the late 1970s to the present. This policy was maintained by the Liberal-National coalition Government which took office in late 1975. "Assimilation" replaced by "integration" which became refined as "multiculturalism" and "cultural pluralism". Migrants seen as minority pressure group with rights to power and participation in the established structures within Australian society (Martin 1978: 78)

In the same period, government policy towards immigrants after their arrival underwent a change from "laissez-faire" indifference, whereby immigrants were expected to assimilate as best they could. During the 1970s, all major political parties accepted that immigrants had needs which should be met by government, while maintaining their rights as individuals. Thus, the Government's philosophy for provision of services became one whereby the settlement needs of new arrivals were to be fully met by special programs, while needs applying equally to migrants and Australians were to be met by adapting mainstream services to suit the migrants' needs. (West, 1983a: 718).

Britain has always remained the largest provider despite an extended period of mass migration from an increasing diversity of countries after World War II. Since 1945, over 400,000 people have entered Australia as refugees (Shergold, 1984a: 19), while the total number of immigrants for the period to the late seventies stands at 2.3 million, 3.3 million counting their Australian-born children (Smith, 1979: 44).

Australia at the end of World War II: reasons for the post-War immigration program

At the beginning of the post-war period, before the start of the mass influx of migrants, Australia had a population of about seven million people. In 1947, the lowest proportion ever of overseas-born people

(9.8%) was recorded for the non-Aboriginal population (Jupp, 1984: 8). Australian nationalism was expressed by racial exclusion, ostensibly for the protection of labour. The "White Australia Policy" was enshrined by the founders of the Australian Labor Party during the 1890s, when they claimed that "Australia is for the white man" (Jupp, 1984: 16). 98% of the population was British or of British descent, and all minorities were expected to assimilate. Regular racist attacks occurred in such popular journals as The Bulletin. Thus Australia was characterised by insularity and isolationism. Recruitment from Britain was continued by universities and the churches, but most public servants and politicians were Australian-born. The British colonial experience had provided the foundations for Australian government institutions, social and educational practices and foreign policy (Parkin, 1984: 16). Horne (1964) describes Australia's "parochialism" and "provincial-minded approach" to its affairs, while McQueen (1970) characterised Australia as a closed, derivative society, dependent on Britain.

However, Australian policy-makers faced a three-pronged dilemma during and after World War II, the response to which was mass immigration. For the first time Australia's seven million people were threatened from outside by the Japanese Empire, and Britain had been unable to prevent this or to protect Australia. American aid had been vital during the War, with one million American troops stationed in Australia, mostly in Queensland. The experiences of the Depression and World War II thus led to the philosophy, "populate or perish". It was thought that a population of twenty-five million or more would be able to defend Australia adequately. The best way to achieve this population would be by mass immigration (Jupp, 1984: 10). Second, after the War, there was a shortage of accommodation; schools, hospitals and essential services were run down; coal and steel production had declined; and there were many industry and supply shortages (Smith, 1979: 38). Policy-makers considered that Australia's manufacturing base would absorb the extra workers, thereby enlarging the domestic market as a basis for developing an efficient manufacturing industry, allowing living standards to rise, creating a defence industry and permitting a reduction in the reliance on primary industry. Thus, the goals of economic stability, growth and development also stimulated the development of post-War mass immigration to Australia. Third, Australia's immigration program could be justified to the rest of the world on the grounds of humanitarianism. Millions of British and Europeans, including East European Displaced Persons in refugee camps, were wanting to leave the war-time conditions and rationing, and could perhaps be persuaded to go to Australia, rather than North America. A massive immigration campaign was thus the Australian Government's response to the country's perceived defence needs, economic situation, a deficit in the young labour force (Victorian Government Report, 1983) and feelings of humanitarianism towards the European victims of World War II.

1947-1972

Immigration intake policy and trends: 1947-1972

Australia's post-war immigration policy was concerned primarily with numbers. It was instituted by the Curtin and Chifley Labor Governments (Sherington, 1980; Jupp, 1984; Lowenstein and Loh, 1977). While there were a number of continuities from earlier immigration policy, a major departure was in the active seeking of non-English-speaking migrants from Europe.

The "White Australia Policy" continued, but was gradually modified. In 1947, non-Europeans were admitted temporarily for business, and were allowed permanent residence after they had lived continually in Australia for 15 years (Smith, 1979: 40). In 1956, non-Europeans allowed to remain without a permit could become eligible for citizenship. Thus, distinguished and highly qualified non-Europeans were permitted to enter and stay indefinitely in Australia. A controversial English dictation test for entry was abolished under the 1958 Migration Act, and was replaced by a simpler scheme of entry permits. But the "White Australia Policy" was not effectively eroded until 1966, when the non-European spouses, children or parents of Australian citizens were admitted, and qualified for citizenship under the same conditions that applied to Europeans. During the late 1960s the "White Australia Policy" became an increasing embarrassment to Australia's developing relations with Asia. Modifications were therefore introduced in order to assist Australia's foreign affairs. The aim was not to allow a large, unrestricted flow of non-Europeans into Australia (Smith, 1979:41). In 1970-71, Asians constituted only 5% of the migrant intake. In 1965, the Federal Labor Party Conference deleted its 80-year-old commitment to a "White Australia", but it was only in 1971 that the Labor Conference affirmed that its immigration policy was to be based on "an avoidance of discrimination on any grounds of race or colour of skin or nationality" (Shergold, 1984a:15). Immigration between 1947 and 1972 was dominated by the British for the entire period, although, during the 1960s, it became increasingly difficult to attract the British in the numbers desired because of the declining British birthrate and Britain's own need for skilled workers. A substantial number of East European Displaced Persons also came from 1947 until the refugee camps were empty, in about 1953; northern Europeans particularly Dutch and German until the mid 1950s; and southern Europeans, from the mid-1950s until the late 1960s. Despite the Government's "radical" policy for attracting European migrants, Arthur Calwell expressed the hope that "for every foreign migrant there will be 10 people from the U.K." (Minister for Immigration, Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates, 1946).

In 1945, the Chifley Government set the target for the annual immigration intake at 1% of the population, to be maintained until the population doubled. While this target was not abandoned until 1972, it was only achieved between 1948-49 and 1951-52, in 1954-55 and 1955-56, and in 1968-69. Actual net arrivals never exceeded 78% of the target (Smith, 1979: 44). Jupp (1966) provides an insightful account into the reasons underlying immigration arrivals and the high rate of departures.

As they had always been, British immigrants were dominant numerically; because they were socially similar to Australians they spread throughout the work-force. Under the "Bring out a Briton" campaign, the British were free to enter Australia without visas and without submitting to the rigorous selection process. This policy was modified, however, after the British Government started restricting Australian entry to Britain under the Commonwealth Immigration Acts of 1962 and 1968. During the economic expansion of the 1950s and 1960s, the Australian Government provided virtually free passages for British in the required categories (which consisted of most occupations) and their immediate families. Assisted settlers over the age of 19 contributed \$25 to the cost of their passage, while those who were younger travelled free.[5] Because not enough British were migrating, assisted passages were also extended during the 1960s to the North Europeans. Together with the British, they gained the

status of "preferred migrants", with very cheap transportation and guaranteed housing and employment, provided they stayed in Australia for at least two years (Parkin, 1984: 19).

In November, 1947, the first ship carrying European Displaced Persons arrived in Australia, and the first migrant camp was opened for them at the former army camp in Bonegilla, about 500 kms from Sydney and 300 kms from Melbourne (Jupp, 1984: 11). Between 1947 and 1953, about 200,000 Displaced Persons arrived from places such as the Ukraine, Latvia, Czechoslovakia, Estonia and Poland. Australia had had little or no experience of settlers from these countries. Few of them spoke English and few had experienced British-oriented societies, but they were regarded as assimilable because they were young, healthy and fair. Martin (1965) gives a detailed account of Australia's program for settling these refugees.

Australia's program for Displaced Persons combined an apparent humanitarianism with calculated economic self-interest (Parkin, 1984: 19). Australia paid for their transport from Europe, provided that the head of the family worked where directed, at prevailing union rates, for two years. Although many of the Displaced Persons were professional middle class people (Jupp, 1966: 8), they were treated as basic manual labourers. Many of their degrees and certificates were lost in the War or not recognised by Australian authorities, so their real skills were wasted. They formed the major component of the workforce for the Snowy Mountains Hydro-Electric Scheme, and other major post-War reconstruction projects, before joining other migrants in the new industries and suburbs of western Melbourne and Sydney. These non-English speaking Europeans had no local family ties, no property, few effective civil rights, and were grateful to be alive after the War. The Government thus found it easy to allocate them to economic sectors where it was difficult to attract locally-born labour. Further waves of European refugees arrived from Hungary in 1956 (14,000) and Czechoslovakia in 1968 (5,500).

The tradition of recruiting non-English speakers to low-status low-paid jobs not wanted by Australians was continued when the next wave of immigrants began in the mid-1950s. They came from Italy, Greece, Malta and later, Yugoslavia (Jupp, 1984; Sherington, 1980). Most of this group were not sponsored by the Australian Government. They frequently spent only a brief time at Bonegilla before moving to the suburbs and industries of Melbourne, Adelaide and, later, Sydney. They were not encouraged or discouraged, although their labour proved to be essential for Australia's industrial expansion and their settlement cost the Australian taxpayer little. Italians and Greeks, in particular, were frequently involved in a process of "chain migration". The men tended to migrate on their own and then, when established economically, would bring out their families.

These Mediterranean workers were often unskilled, and formed a new working class in Melbourne, Adelaide, Sydney and Wollongong. While industries generally contained a mixture of ethnic groups, there were some notable concentrations. Yugoslavs were concentrated in the steel industry; Greeks and Turks in the motor industry; Italians in construction; the Maltese in transport; while Mediterranean women worked in the clothing, textiles and footwear industries. The ship-building and steel industries depended on British immigrants.

This second phase of post-War immigration faded out as the source countries became more prosperous. Several source countries joined the

European Economic Community or regained markets in the United States. Britain enjoyed a period of temporary prosperity and full employment. It thus became difficult for the Australian Government to attract migrants without heavy subsidies. In addition, the Australian economy changed character. In the late 1960s, Australia became less rural and less dependent on manufacturing. The skills required of migrants became higher, in general, than those offering from intending settlers, many of whom became discouraged. As Australian industry contracted, it had need of fewer unskilled, non-English-speaking workers. As Australia's economic and political links with Asia expanded, it became increasingly difficult to bar Asians. These economic and political changes led in part to the changes in immigration policy of the early 1970s.

Policy response to immigration

The most striking feature of the Government's response to the fact of immigration and increasing ethnic diversity in Australia during the post-War period (until 1972) was the absence of a public policy response (Parkin, 1984: 21). The public schools well exemplify the delivery of social services through centralised, bureaucratically-structured departments. By the mid 1960s there were some schools in ethnic neighbourhoods with large numbers of students from non-English-speaking backgrounds, but the students still followed the standard curriculum. The Department of Immigration was oriented towards the recruitment of migrants, not their settlement (Martin, 1978: 28). Migrants were inarticulate and politically impotent. Their views were neither known nor heeded, and their communities were separated from the decision-making process (Jupp, 1966). Thus the centralised federal and state governments, and the political parties, could afford to remain relatively indifferent to ethnic groups and their needs for specialised services in education, welfare, public health, legal aid and cultural support. The immigration program was based on assumptions which denied the legitimacy of ethnic identity as a political or social resource (Parkin, 1984: 21).

Martin (1978) and Jupp (1966) provide excellent overviews of government policy response, or lack of it, to migrants in this period. There was a strong view prevailing both in government and in the community that migrants should not be given concessions or special consideration which would advantage them in comparison with the Australian-born population. The interests of Australians must not suffer as a result of the migrant presence (Martin, 1978: 207). The hidden purpose of assimilation was to legitimise a policy which the Government had to sell to the community.

In the post-War period, before the 1970s, Government intervention in migrant settlement extended to the operation of migrant hostels, the expansion of the Commonwealth Employment Service and the provision of English classes for non-English-speaking migrants (Martin, 1978: 28) which were unsatisfactory for a number of reasons (see Chapter 3) and had a drop-out rate of 92% (Jupp, 1966: 172). There were very few, if any, bilingual staff, and little research capacity in government departments. One publicly acknowledged reason for the dispersal of non-English-speaking migrants or Displaced Persons to workplaces in isolated regions was to achieve a dispersion of "foreigners" and to avoid conflict between the culturally distinct host and migrant communities (Viviani, 1984: 160). As early as 1950, the Commonwealth Government established the Good Neighbour Movement to foster goodwill towards migrants. This movement however operated almost exclusively for the benefit of British immigrants, with "foreigners" being actually excluded until the 1960s (Martin, 1978: 29).

Jupp delivered a scathing and justified attack on Government policies vis-a-vis immigrants in the 60s. He accused the Government of "self-destructive penny-pinching" (1966: 28) in its willingness to pay migrants' fares, but then leave them to endure unsuitable and sometimes "appalling" conditions in the migrant hostels on their arrival. The hostels had no taps or running water inside, and families had to share communal toilets and dining rooms. They were unsatisfactory in every respect, and inconvenient to anything but the nearest factory. The Victorian State Housing Commission discriminated between British and European immigrants in its allocation of state housing. Denial of social services to non-citizens was a form of pressure on migrants to accept Australian citizenship. The Labor Party in 1951 enshrined the principle that "New Australians" should not be able to own or purchase property until they had been naturalised. In 1965, on the eve of conscription, the Returned Services League developed a policy that ensured that migrants would have no unfair advantage. It provided for the registration and call-up of all aliens of the appropriate age if they or their parents had been in Australia long enough to be naturalised. Naturalisation involved actual renunciation of one's country of origin and taking an oath of allegiance to the Queen in England.

Perhaps most damaging of all to many migrants was Australia's refusal to accept non-British qualifications or encourage special skills. While a basic principle of Australia's employment policy was that no unemployed person should be forced to do unsuitable work, the immigration program rested on the possibility of filling unattractive jobs with new arrivals, many of whom would be forced to work well below their intellectual capacity, skill or training (Jupp, 1966: 56). No attempt was made to address this problem till 1969, when the Committee on Overseas Professional Qualifications (COPQ) was established. In 1985 it still remains a serious problem.

During the 1960s, things did slowly start to change (Martin, 1978: 33ff). Experience was showing that assumptions about migrant assimilability were simply unfounded. Many organisations had noted that lack of English on the part of migrants was a serious obstacle to the performance of the role of different professionals. In Melbourne in the mid 1960s, teachers and school personnel instituted the first serious public debate about institutional responses to the migrant presence. This led gradually to an increase in the number of publications on the definition of migrants as a potential social problem and as disadvantaged. By the end of the 1960s, migrant issues became prominent in the Australian Labor Party (ALP) platform. Migrants were seen as the victims of economic exploitation, and of official and community neglect. At the beginning of the 1970s, there were some independent changes, mostly concessions or adaptations, in practices and structures of various institutions, to accommodate migrants. For example, the Child Migrant Education Program was instituted in 1970. In treating migrants as special problems, the Government avoided the need for radical restructuring.

The changes in government policy towards migrants of the late 1960s were not initiated by government departments. Rather they were instituted by professionals and welfare workers in the field, who found that the policies of the time prevented them from carrying out their duties satisfactorily. These changes led to the new Labor Government's dismantling, overhauling and reassembling the immigration machine, after its election in December 1972, and to a major cut in immigration intake.

Immigration intake policies

A Labor Government, under the leadership of Gough Whitlam, was elected in December, 1972, after 23 years in Opposition. The new Minister for Immigration, Mr Al Grassby, made sweeping changes not only to Australia's policy for the intake of immigrants, but also to policies regarding immigrant settlement. Although Mr Grassby lost his seat in an election in 1974, his philosophy had sufficient impetus and community support to remain unopposed to the present day, regardless of the philosophies of the party in office. Thus Australia's radical changes to its earlier immigration policies have enjoyed bipartisan support, essentially unchallenged, except occasionally by "the lunatic fringe" of the political Right. Only in 1984 did this challenge appear to gain some legitimacy by its advocacy in the media by a well-known academic. The Blainey Debate is discussed in Chapter 9. (For a fuller cover of the Blainey Debate, see also Milne & Shergold, 1984). Despite this recent public criticism, to date no changes have been made to any policies affecting immigration which would reverse the trends of the past decade.

From 1973, immigration was no longer to be perceived as providing a series of short-term responses to changes in Australia's labour needs. A high-rate of population growth, stimulated by large-scale immigration, was no longer a central objective of government, and economic costs and benefits had to be carefully considered.

The Labor Government acted quickly to reduce the intake of immigrants. By 1972-73, settler arrivals had already fallen by 37% from the 170,000 of 1970-71 (Shergold, 1984a: 15). Labor's intake target for 1975-76 was a mere 50,000.

In reducing the intake permitted, the Labor Government also widened the criteria for selection. There was an explicit rejection of ethnic origin as being grounds for acceptance as a settler. The possibility of migrating to Australia on an assisted passage was extended to people of any race, nationality or colour. A "points system" was introduced, which quantified applications and removed the possibility of race-based settler selection. Points were awarded for ability to speak English and assessed ability to settle in Australia, but not for colour or birthplace. The highest priority in selection procedures was the reunion of immediate family members. However, this could be modified by the family member's "economic viability", "personal qualities", and an assessment of his/her qualifications, skills and experience in terms of "national need" (Shergold, 1984a: 16). With this emphasis on family reunion, there was no sudden transformation in ethnic make-up of Australia's population. British, European and non-European migration are still limited by the absolute numbers permitted for migration and their proportion of the total annual intake.

A number of other changes occurred after 1973 in Australia's immigration intake policy. Grassby's successor as Minister for Immigration, Mr Clyde Cameron, preserved Grassby's changes and abolished the preference for British citizens in visa procedures and naturalisation. With the return of a Liberal-National coalition Government in 1975, there were no changes made to the non-discriminatory selection procedures, but the level of intake rose sharply. In 1981-82 (the last complete year in office of the

coalition Government before the re-election in 1983 of another Labor Government, this time under the Prime Ministership of Mr Bob Hawke), the migration level had reached nearly 120,000, with a relatively high percentage of these being businessmen.

Australia's present intake policy is clearly articulated in the "Migrant Entry Handbook" (Australia DIEA, 1982). There are currently five "eligibility categories" for settlement in Australia: Family Migration (Category 1); Labour Shortage and Business Migration (Category 2); Independent Migration (Category 3); Refugees and Special Humanitarian Programs (Category 4); and Special Eligibility (Category 5)[6]. Assisted passages were abolished in 1982-83 for all categories of settlers except those arriving as refugees or under the Special Humanitarian Programs. Rivett (1984: 25) gives a breakdown of proposed settlement figures for 1984-85. Of an anticipated 74,000 settlers, 42,000 will come under the provisions for family reunion. 15,500 will have scarce and needed skills or be employer nominees or business people and their immediate families. Five hundred will arrive under the provisions for either independent migration or "special eligibility". 11,000 will be refugees (according to the U.N. definition), while 3,000 will be admitted under the provisions of the Special Humanitarian Program. The total number is 16,000 lower than the intake for 1983-84 (West, 1983a: 715). In 1983, additional weight was given to sponsorship by an Australian citizen, this being an indirect incentive for eligible residents to apply for citizenship (West, 1983a: 716).

Thus, recent changes of government in Australia have seen no major changes of immigration intake policy. The changes that have occurred have been mainly to the actual number of settlers accepted, and a shifting of the priorities. Liberal Governments in recent years have emphasised the intake of businessmen, while the Labor government has seen its responsibility as being principally humanitarian: the reunion of families and a commitment to international efforts to alleviate the recent refugee crisis, principally from Indo-China, but also Poland, Latin America and the Middle East.

The refugee crisis

Despite the earlier presence of refugees in Australia in the early post-War period, circumstances in Indochina in recent years have led to a refugee crisis of significance world-wide, but of particular importance to Australia. Although Australia's response to the crisis is quite small in world terms (see table 1), per capita, it can be said to have contributed more than any other country to the Indo Chinese refugee resettlement program (Shergold, 1984a: 21). A Government document (Australia DIEA, 1983a) briefly traces Australia's response to the Indochinese refugee crisis. Viviani (1984) gives a detailed analysis of Australia's response to Vietnamese refugees in particular. Shergold (1984a), Cox (1979) and Australia. Senate Standing Committee on Defence and Foreign Affairs (1982) also discuss Australia's response to the Indochinese refugee situation in varying detail. Some of the worries about the presence of Asians in Australia in 1984 arose as a direct response to Australia's Indochinese refugee resettlement program (Shergold, 1984b; Milne & Shergold, 1984). While a later Section of this chapter discusses measures taken by Australia to facilitate refugee resettlement, it is appropriate to recap briefly the process of their resettlement.

Table 1: Australia's contribution to the Resettlement of Indo-Chinese Refugees, 1980-83

Resettlement country	Indo-Chinese refugees accepted for resettlement					
	1980 (no.)	1981 (no.)	1982 (no.)	1983 (no.)	1980-83 (no.)	1980-83 (%).
Australia	15,445	14,549	10,846	14,263	55,103	8.3
Canada	36,019	11,158	7,265	8,032	62,474	9.4
France	12,444	13,058	12,835	8,305	47,642	7.1
U.S.A.	170,247	151,903	71,375	45,562	439,087	65.8
Other	30,892	14,947	7,164	9,868	62,871	9.4
Total	265,047	205,615	109,485	87,030	667,177	100.0

Key: This number consisted of 30,823 Vietnamese who had arrived in a neighbouring South-East Asian country by boat; 700 Vietnamese who came overland; 9,606 Khmer, including Khmer from Vietnam; 2,768 Lao; and 1,192 Vietnamese direct from their home country under the Orderly Departure Program.

Source: Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Statistics and Chart Concerning Refugees from Indo-China in South-East Asia (UNHCR, Geneva).

To fit Australia's response to the Indochinese refugee crisis into perspective, Table 2 gives a breakdown of Australia's anticipated refugee intake in 1984-85 (Rivett, 1984: 106)

Table 2: Australia's anticipated refugee intake in 1984-85

Country or region of origin	Anticipated number
Indo-China (including Vietnam, Kampuchea & Laos)	8,200
East Europeans (including Poles)	1,200
Latin America (1983-84 intake was mainly from Chile, El Salvador & Uruguay)	1,500
Middle East	1,500
Africa	450
'Others' (including Assyrians)	1,150

Vietnamese, Khmer and Laos now form the dominant refugee intake in Australia. Before the introduction of the non-discriminatory immigration policy in 1973, this would not have been acceptable or possible. Australia is physically closer to the region than to that of any past large-scale exodus of refugees. With its affluent life-style and vast resources, it had a humanitarian responsibility to the international community to accept some of the refugees. It also had a regional responsibility to help the developing nations of Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), who were bearing the brunt of the refugee crisis.

In 1975, at the beginning of the refugee crisis, the Labor Government selected 500 refugees from Hong Kong and Singapore for resettlement at government expense, but it had no clear refugee policy. (A reliable nine

year longitudinal study of this cohort has recently been published by Frank Lewins and Judith Ly.) By 1979, about 350,000 Indochinese had fled in boats or by walking overland to neighbouring countries and were in refugee camps in Malaysia and Thailand awaiting resettlement. Between 1976 and 1979, about 2,000 "boat people" arrived illegally on Australian shores. Their arrival triggered a number of headlines about the possibility of "invasion" and the introduction of disease. In the first instance, the only official response was increased surveillance of the northern coastline. Many people realised that the best means of reconciling self-interest (keeping out a flood of illegal Asian immigrants) with humanitarianism (recognition of the rapidly worsening human tragedy in South-East Asia) was to develop a clear refugee policy, with an officially administered and controlled intake. In May, 1978, the Federal Government announced it could admit 9,000 Indochinese refugees a year. Seven months later, this quota was raised to 10,500. After the Geneva Convention on Indo-China in July 1979, the number was increased to 14,000. By the end of 1980, one million Indo-Chinese refugees had been settled in other countries, but 200,000 were still in camps awaiting resettlement. In 1981-82, the 13,805 Indochinese refugees who arrived formed 9.4% of the total settler arrivals. In 1982-83, 13,008 refugees constituted 9.3% of settler arrivals. Many Indochinese have used the family reunion program to be reunited with relatives left in camps. The Vietnamese Government instituted an Orderly Departure Program, permitting many relatives still living in Vietnam to join the resettled refugees in their new country. With the economic recession and the arrival of a new Labor Government, which substantially reduced the overall level of immigration, the number of newly arrived Indochinese refugees fell to 10,000, with a further 2,000 being admitted as family reunion migrants under Vietnam's Orderly Departure Program. Thus, within a decade, more than 90,000 Indochinese had settled in Australia. Many of them lack the educational and occupational attributes of the preceding carefully selected Asian immigrants.

Summary

The changes in Australia's overall immigration intake program since 1974 can be summarised thus:

- 1) Levels of immigration have been generally lower than in the past (1981-82 was the only year when the target exceeded 100,000).
- 2) While it is probably harder for "foreigners" to be accepted for settlement in Australia, selection grounds no longer recognise ethnic origin. Applications from all countries are now assessed according to the same criteria. The largest number of immigrants still come from Britain and Ireland, followed by New Zealand (whose citizens are now the only non-Australians allowed to work and settle in Australia without a visa, on a reciprocal arrangement).
- 3) Immigration policy is now based less on economic considerations, and more on social and humanitarian criteria.
- 4) The proportion of Asians and Middle Easterners has risen, although the absolute increase is less pronounced.
- 5) Despite the large number of Asian refugees, not all Asian migrants are refugees. An increasing number qualify for entrance on the

basis of their education, occupational skills, entrepreneurial talent or their business capital.

Policy response to immigration in a multicultural society

With the introduction of non-discriminatory selection procedures for immigrants and the broadening of the range of ethnic communities represented in Australia, there has been a general loosening of community attitudes and a greater government flexibility expressed towards the needs of Australia's new residents. The dearth of services specifically directed towards or adapted for non-English-speakers pre-1972 has been replaced by a proliferation ("differentiation", Martin, 1978) of services and organisations to meet a wide variety of needs. After the departure of Grassby in 1974, government response tended to be more non-committal (Martin, 1978: 71), but the trends were not reversed. The Government undertook a number of large-scale inquiries into Programs and Services for migrants, and into defining the concept of multiculturalism as a public policy (See Galbally Report 1978; Reports by the Australian Population & Immigration Council; AIMA Review 1981; and Evaluation, 1982 etc.). Multiculturalism was translated into practice when the recommendations of the Galbally Report were accepted by the Government in 1978, and money allocated for their implementation. [These Reports, and the recommendations arising from them are discussed in more detail in Chapter 2] State Governments in this period established Ethnic Affairs Commissions as statutory bodies.

The Victorian Government's statement of aims for its Ethnic Affairs Policy (Victorian Government, 1983) can be widened to represent the aims of Federal Government policy as well. It aims to provide greater opportunities of access for all residents, regardless of ethnic origin or language, to all the resources of the community. Further, it aims to provide for greater opportunities of equity for all residents, particularly non-English-speakers, concerning their greater involvement in decision-making processes for the allocation of resources and services. Fundamental, then, is a movement away from seeing the migrant as a person who is disadvantaged because of problems within him/herself, to seeing the migrant's problems as inherent within the host society. While the provision of services for migrants, and non-English-speakers in particular, could still be improved in many areas, it is far broader and more comprehensive than in the period preceding 1973. This section gives a brief survey of major policy changes and decisions affecting migrant settlement and/or ethnic affairs from 1973 on.

Characteristic of the growing awareness by government of the problems inherent for ethnic groups living in what had been a monocultural, ethnically Anglo-Celtic community, was the great differentiation of structures, organisations and activities in the 1970s.

Some organisations became more aware of and sensitive to ethnic situations and need. Many, including government departments started to employ staff of ethnic origin, including bilinguals. Some established institutions developed specific services and substructures for non-English speaking clients, for example, the Hospital Interpreter Service in NSW. In a number of cases, new structures were created specifically to meet the needs of non-English-speakers and other migrants and members of ethnic communities. Examples of this include the Telephone Interpreter Service and the Adult Migrant Education Scheme (for teaching English).

Although dismantled by the Liberal-National coalition Government in 1976, the Australian Assistance Plan (A.A.P.), established in the early 1970s, is seen as having had the greatest potential for change with relation to migrant questions (Martin, 1978: 50). It aimed to develop an integrated network of welfare services at the regional level, with active community participation, within a nationally coordinated framework. One problem for ethnic communities in the early 1970s and earlier was the absence of regional organisation. The A.A.P. served as a catalyst for Ethnic Community Councils to be formed in Victoria and SA (1974) and NSW (1975), the first significant attempt by ethnic groups to combine, to represent common ethnic interests in public affairs. While the Ethnic Community Councils became powerful, articulate lobby groups they failed to become grassroots organisations. With the establishment of ethnic radio in 1973, and a publication, From the Ethnic Press by the Department of Immigration in 1976, individual ethnic groups gained regular lines of communication with the English-speaking community.

Within the welfare field, many new services were established. Commonwealth grants were given to the Community Agencies Scheme, the Ecumenical Migration Centre and the Centre for Urban Research & Action. These were developed to compensate for the neglect of migrants by existing agencies.

The relatively limited response of the established institutions were seen as short-term adjustments to a passing need. They were frequently planned as responses to non-English-speakers in Australia, rather than as long-term means to accommodate members of ethnic groups within a permanently multicultural Australia. In general, bilingual and bicultural welfare professionals rather than translated printed matter, were and are very important in the process of information dissemination and problem-solving, because of the importance placed by most people on human relationships.

The apparent enlightenment of the new government policies was in many cases superficial. Although the Telephone Interpreter Service had increased in use dramatically since its establishment, particularly in its use of "in person" interpreters, for example in court, in 1978, Liberal National Government policy was to contain it. Professional groups were expected to provide interpreters on a "user pays" basis. Although the area it covered was expanding, and new and advanced machines were in use, the wage rates of the large number of non-salaried staff were the same as for domestic cleaners. This continued the pre-1972 tradition of exploiting migrants as unpaid or underpaid workers. The National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters was established in an attempt to regulate and professionalise interpreting and translating in Australia.

The Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs was originally responsible for the education of migrant children and adults and for migrant welfare. In these areas, government policy response was reasonable. Areas such as health, employment, housing and access to social security benefits, which were never covered by the Department of Immigration, continued to suffer indifference or neglect in their dealings with non-English-speakers (Martin 1978: 61). In many areas, a confusion

of state and federal responsibility led to the confused provision of inefficient services. For example, Martin(1978: 66) claimed that the Adult Migrant Education Program in Victoria in 1976 suffered from the very small number of migrants it was reaching, inadequate allowances and course materials, and assumed (quite inaccurately) that students were literate in their own language. Lack of variety in courses to meet student needs and inadequate selection procedures for more demanding courses exacerbated a high attrition rate, and undermined the effectiveness of the whole program. In the wilderness of inadequately-researched projects and under-funded organisations, ACOSS (the Australian Council of Social Services), using a Commonwealth subsidy, provided a thoughtful and continuous critique of migrant issues. Its strength lay in its independence from government control and its ability to tap the experience of workers involved with welfare practice (Martin, 1978; 68).

Many of the criticisms that can be levelled at programs post-1972 can be explained in part simply by inexperience on the part of administrators, policy-formulators and professionals, and by the newness of the programs both in practice and philosophically. Over the intervening years, subject to adequate funding, many of the earlier problems, for example in the Adult Migrant Education Program and in the use of interpreters have been, or are being gradually removed.

A brief survey of the main points outlined in the Minister for Immigration's Review of measures regarding post-arrival programs and services for migrants up till July, 1982, gives an indication of the present scope of government programs for its new settlers (West, 1983b).

- 1) DIEA prints information booklets for all new arrivals regarding their rights and responsibilities as Australian residents, government and non-government organisations and services, and health and social security benefits.
- 2) The "On-Arrival Program" provides English instruction at varying levels and provides information about Australia, using bilingual information instructors, for settlers in Australia less than 12 months.

Initial Settlement in hostels

- 3) The On-Arrival Program is provided at hostels. Commonwealth Employment Service and Social Security staff provide services at hostels.
- 4) Post-arrival settlement services are transferred to Migrant Resource Centres.
- 5) Financial support is provided for new arrivals (subject to an income test).
- 6) The Adult Migrant Education Program continually upgrades and diversifies its English-teaching services from beginners to professionally-oriented levels, funded by the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs (DIEA).
- 7) DIEA also administers a voluntary Home Tutor Scheme to teach English to people who are unable or unwilling to attend regular English classes.
- 8) The Child Migrant Education Program is still operating. The Schools Commission is developing tests, and undertaking research on factors affecting the development of English competence.

Multicultural Education

- 9) Provision of funds for developing teaching materials and running courses in community languages.
- 10) Courses for professionals: The Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission is using professional associations and existing in-service education programs to provide cultural awareness and language courses for professionals etc.

Bilinguals, and Translating and Interpreting Services

- 11) Bilingual staff are recruited into the Australian Public Service and distributed to departments according to need.
- 12) The Telephone Interpreter Service to get extra staff if needed. All calls to be at local rates.
- 13) Interpreting and Translating courses provided at tertiary level.
- 14) Commonwealth and State agreement on the provision of government-funded Translator and Interpreter Services.

Information

- 15) Strengthen DIEA's Information Section, and liaison with other departments on their provision of information.

Migrant Welfare

- 16) Grant-in-aid workers to do welfare work away from major centres.
- 17) Encouragement of self-help through ethnic organisation.
- 18) Increased grants for the development of informal child-care, and projects relating to migrant women in situations of family conflict, in marital breakdown, and in industry.
- 19) Establishment of Migrant Resource Centres.
- 20) Migrant Services Units - direct social and welfare work in hostels.
- 21) Community Welfare Unit (DIEA) to assist or support ethnic groups develop welfare services.

Special Needs

- 22) Employment-training programs for migrants, recruitment of ethnic project officers in Department of Employment and Industrial Relations; research into impact of technological change on migrant workers.
- 23) Health - survey of language skills of health professionals; extend Health Interpreter Service.
- 24) Migrant Women - research into work-related health and special needs.
- 25) Surveys on special needs of the aged and handicapped and for child-care.

Law and Civil Liberties

- 26) Studies to improve services of interpreters in courts.
- 27) Abolition of discrimination between British-born (formerly classed as "immigrants") and non-British-settlers (formerly classed as "aliens").
- 28) Multilingual publicity on the Ombudsman, and electoral rights and responsibilities.

Broadcasting and the Arts

- 29) Increased funding for ethnic radio and TV.
- 30) Use of community languages.

- 31) Production of short TV segments to promote racial and ethnic tolerance.
- 32) Arts and culture -- libraries and information services to develop according to the needs of ethnic communities.

Refugees

- 33) Community Refugee Settlement Scheme (Australia, DIEA 1983), developed as a response to the community desire to be more directly involved in refugee resettlement (instituted late 1979). Community groups or individuals "adopt" refugees and assist with their settlement (Viviani, 1984: 162).
- 34) Setting up of a special housing loans scheme for refugees.

Concluding Comments

Despite Australia's tradition of xenophobia and racial insensitivity, ethnic diversification has been achieved relatively tranquilly. Accompanying ethnic diversification in the 1960s and 1970s came the realisation that there was a growing and visible disjunction between public knowledge, generated by government, that migrants were readily assimilable, and the actual experience of many that the theory of assimilation was not only inhumane, but also fallacious. Union shop stewards, teachers, health and welfare professionals became aware that the inability of many migrants to assimilate gracefully was undermining their professional role. People also started realising that the locally-born population had much to gain in terms of foods, cultural knowledge and customs from their new neighbours. Out of this converging change of attitudes and values, the policy of multiculturalism was created. This chapter has traced the changes in both immigration intake policy and Australian government response to the presence of diverse ethnic groups in the Australian community, following the development of a multicultural Australia.

Introduction

The question of government policy and practice concerning adult education for migrants in Australia needs to be considered within the larger framework of assumptions underlying the Government's immigration policy at any particular time. From the earliest days of the immigration program the Government took the narrowest definition of adult education for migrants as being the provision of English language classes to assist them to assimilate quickly into the society. There was no attempt to educate the migrants or orient them to the new society.

As with the immigration policy since World War II, until the late 1970s, so with the Government's adult migrant education program, there appeared to be no consistent long term policy but, rather, ad hoc administrative responses to issues or crises that would suddenly arise and demand immediate attention. This chapter is an attempt to show how the Government has viewed adult education for migrants since 1947 in its narrowest sense, as English language education, and to indicate what has been the response of the ethnic communities to government policy and programs.

An Overview of the Development of Adult Migrant Education, 1947-1978

As a result of the decision of the post-war Labor Government to accept Displaced Persons from Europe to help populate and develop the country, Australia, in November 1947, received its first ship carrying non-British migrants mainly from the Baltic states who spoke little or no English.

The basic assumption underlying the acceptance of such foreigners was that they "represent an ideal source of migrants who will fit smoothly into our way of life." (Grassby, 1981:55). To assist in this speedy assimilation process, it was essential that the newcomers should master the English language as quickly as possible. The first official steps were taken at the end of 1947 when a group of 800 displaced persons was given a month's instruction in English upon arrival at the newly prepared reception centre at Bonegilla. Hastily prepared materials were used, and a "direct" approach, supported by what common language could be found between teachers and migrants. The twenty-two teachers employed, from state and independent schools in NSW and Victoria, all had a command of German, which was useful as a "common language" amongst the Displaced Persons. (Commonwealth Department of Education, English: A New Language, 1976:5)

From this humble beginning emerged what was later to be known as the AMEP or Adult Migrant Education Program which today has approximately 120,000 enrolments throughout Australia and a budget of \$44 million[7]. This considerable development over the past 38 years has occurred mainly as a response to unforeseen events or to community pressure, although community pressure was largely absent until the mid-1970s.

The nature of the development of the program indicates that it was never seen by Government as anything more than a temporary measure to assist migrants who were not English speakers to assimilate into the society.

The official attitude in the late 1940s was that once a new settler had left the reception centre or holding camp and been placed in employment, it was important that he should continue to persevere in his language learning in a systematic way, with as much skilled help as possible. Therefore during 1948 a system of evening continuation classes was inaugurated. Under this scheme migrants were able to attend classes near their place of employment, provided that six or more wished to receive instruction at any one centre and provided a suitable instructor was available. Instruction was carried out in the evenings by state school teachers for a maximum of four hours per week. By the end of 1949, approximately 13,000 migrants had attended classes (ibid:6). It is interesting to note that the evening Continuation Program has continued to operate until recently. In October, 1975, there were 974 classes with an enrolment of 13,852 migrants throughout Australia (ibid:6). The reason for such small numbers will be discussed later in this chapter.

The other early responses by the Government to providing English language programs for newcomers were the shipboard programs and education prior to departure for Australia. The first shipboard education program commenced in May 1948 to give English language instruction to migrants on the voyage to Australia. These courses were discontinued when migrants started to come by air instead of by sea in the late 1950s. The pre-embarkation classes were mainly held in European source countries and continued until the late 60s when numbers of migrants dropped drastically and Australia was forced to look elsewhere for prospective migrants. Currently, there is a pre-embarkation program in Thailand for adult refugees selected for resettlement in Australia.

Correspondence courses and radio instruction were introduced in 1949. The Correspondence Course, which is still in existence, will be up-dated as part of the new Distance Learning Project of the AMEP which is in the process of being developed in South Australia by DIEA. The radio program presented in the early morning by the ABC was discontinued in 1978 because of lack of migrant audience interest.

In contrast to developments in the United States where there had been no centrally directed effort to cater for the assimilation needs of the pre-1914 group (quoted from James McCusker, The Development of Migrant Education in Australia, 1945-54, in ibid:3), in Australia the migrant education scheme was from the very start administered as a function of central government. From 1947 to 1950 the Commonwealth Government had sole responsibility. After 1951, responsibility for day-to-day administration passed to the States, but the program has always operated as an expression of official, Commonwealth and State governmental concern for the well-being of the migrant (ibid:3).

The long-standing overlap of administrative responsibilities resulting from the confused distribution of responsibility between the State and Federal Governments combined with the refusal by either Government to accept that migration and migrant education were a long term feature of Australian society. The program was administered for over twenty years on the basis of an item of correspondence: a letter from the Prime Minister to the State Premiers in 1951 setting out arrangements under which administrative control of migrant teaching activities would pass to the States, which would select and appoint teachers for continuation classes and for instruction in migrant centres and by correspondence. The States also would requisition teaching equipment from the Commonwealth and maintain records of the use of such equipment. They would supply statis-

tics required by the Commonwealth to allow assessment of the needs and of the success of the program. They would submit monthly claims for reimbursement of administrative costs and all other costs of instruction. Finally, they would call upon the Commonwealth for advice, training of teachers and supplies of material as required.

The Commonwealth, for its part, would maintain control of policy in determining the nature and extent of instruction to be given. It would meet all costs of instruction. It would provide textbooks and teaching materials, provide advisory services to the States, and, finally, train teachers as required by the States.

Meetings between Commonwealth and State representatives have been regularly held to review the program and to update it but the arrangements made in 1951 have remained substantially unchanged up to the present time. The Immigration (Education) Act 1971 provided the legislative basis for the AMEP. By this Act the Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs is responsible for special education provisions for migrant adults. Since 1981 the Commonwealth has been attempting to negotiate a new administrative agreement with the States to replace the 1951 agreement. The situation to date is that all States have given agreement in principle except Queensland which has requested to have further discussions.

It is clear that the 1951 administrative arrangement for the migrant education program did not have any guarantee of permanency, nor did it encourage innovation in teaching style at the local level. It is easy to comprehend why Situational English for Newcomers to Australia which appeared between 1969 and 1971 became the textbook to be used for almost a decade. The book was prepared by specialists in the Commonwealth Office of Education (later the Department of Education). They believed that instruction could most efficiently be based on the structure of the language and that the most effective technique was to be found in situational teaching. All teachers were issued with the text and teachers' handbook.

In order to maintain contact with teachers the Commonwealth Office of Education commenced publication of its bulletin, English: A New Language, in January 1950. The editorial of the first edition made a most significant comment indicating what official government policy was concerning the problems of migrants other than those related to English language learning:

Teachers are invited to send suggestions on material to be included in the bulletin... Any such suggestions, however, should be confined to specific teaching problems. Problems relating to the assimilation of migrants will not be dealt with in this bulletin. (ibid:16)

The methodology of teaching was very prescriptive. The aims of the program were to educate migrants in the English language and in the Australian way of life. They reflected the immigration policy of the day which selected migrants "on the basis of their suitability as settlers" and "their ability to integrate readily" (Australia. Dept of Immigration Annual Report, 1974)[8].

Thus the program was more concerned with the needs of the community to integrate new arrivals rather than with learners' needs. Mastery of the English language was viewed not only as desirable but as the only right and proper goal for those who had come to settle in Australia.

The situational method of teaching followed a formal grammatical progression, which was prescribed. The teacher's role was to present the material according to the guidelines laid down. No provision was made for specific learner needs or individualisation. Lessons followed a set grammatical sequence and were taught by principles of pattern practice and drilling.

The course is for use in the classroom. The matching students' books are not intended for self study without a teacher. The course presents an aural/oral approach; that is to say, students are taught to hear and to speak the language correctly before reading and writing. (Australia. Department of Education, Handbook, 1972:xiii)

This methodology remained the official position until the Galbally Report of 1978 was accepted by the funding authority, the Commonwealth Government, and a new approach to the education of migrant adults was recommended.

One refreshing innovation occurred in the 1960s, when in response to the sudden arrival in 1968 of large numbers of Czech refugees - many of them university students - the Government introduced full-time intensive day courses, at which an attendance allowance was paid. At first these courses were six weeks in duration and intended for professional people. However, they were extended in length to courses of eight and ten weeks and to people of average educational standing. The Victorian Migrant Education Branch's comment in 1976 on this initiative is enlightening:

This recognition of the right of migrants to share fully in the educational services of the community through paid courses was an admirable step forward, but things have barely progressed past this token effort.

(Victorian MEB Staff Association 1976:10)

Community Response

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s there was little community response to the Government's education program for adult migrants, from either professionals within the service or the migrant clientele. This period was one of outstanding economic expansion and offered newcomers certain employment. Most migrants were too busy establishing their financial independence and basic economic stability to be overly concerned about English classes. Besides, as the migration program increased, so did the growth of ethnic concentrations in the large cities with their communication and social networks such as the ethnic press, clubs and organisations. Many migrants found they were able to cope at work, which was largely unskilled, and in their social life with a minimum of English. Furthermore, after a hard day's physical work the continuing evening classes, which were the only option for learning English, did not have much appeal. The Report of the 1973 Immigration Survey, A Decade of Migrant Settlement is revealing:

On arrival in Australia, 82 per cent of Greeks, 87 per cent of Italians and 91 per cent of Yugoslavs could not speak English. Ten years later at the time of the interview only 8 per cent of Greeks, 11 per cent of Yugoslavs and 14 per cent of Italians could be classified as speaking 'fluent to good' English.

(Australian Population & Immigration Council,
Report on the 1973 Immigration Survey)

However, those migrants who had professional or trade qualifications faced serious barriers to having their qualifications recognised, the most important being that there was no provision in the adult migrant education programme for specialist language programs. Furthermore, the Commonwealth Government did not set up a mechanism to assist in this area until 1969 with the establishment of COPQ, the Committee on Overseas Professional Qualifications.[9] The question of obtaining recognition for overseas trade and professional qualifications is still of paramount concern for certain migrants and refugees, as is evidenced by the findings of the Polish Task Force in their Report on the New Polish Immigrants, A Quest for Normal Life (1983:18):

It must be a source of great concern that after 35 years of mass migration to this country, Martin's remarks (in Refugee Settlers - A Study of Displaced Persons 1965) are still valid, as the problem of recognition of non-British qualifications remains a major barrier to the settlement and economic viability of the refugees of the 1980s.

The professionals working in the adult migrant education area did not voice any disquiet or dissatisfaction with the adult migrant education program until the early 1970s. Until this time they were scattered in various locations, working on a part-time casual basis without a permanent administrative structure. However, after the Immigration (Education) Act of 1971, Migrant Education Centres operated by State authorities were set up in each State capital city to provide a focal point for all aspects of the migrant education program and to serve as the administrative headquarters for the adult education program in each State. The Centres provided facilities for part-time and full-time courses, for the development of resource centres and for teacher training.

An early study by Henderson on poverty in Australia publicly defined migrants for the first time as economically disadvantaged and vulnerable (Henderson, 1969). This finding was in direct contrast to the commonly believed assimilationist myth that migrants had been fitting into the society without any problem since 1947. Henderson's finding that certain groups of non-Anglo-Saxon origin had exceptionally high rates of poverty appeared exactly at a time when a number of workers in the welfare field were becoming critical of a lack of help given by established services to non-English-speakers (Martin, 1975).

In Melbourne in the late 1960s a number of teachers and other school personnel - with immediate experience of the educational problems of migrant children, and of the schools that were failing to meet their needs - generated the first serious public debate over institutional response to the migrant presence (Martin, 1978:34). Pressure came from teacher groups, and from academics such as Zubrzycki[10] who, at the 1968 Citizenship Convention, after outlining the disadvantages suffered by children of a non-English-speaking background, the abysmal inadequacy of measures taken by the State departments to deal with the problem, and the lack of research, concluded:

What seems to be called for is a special educational policy for migrant children ... what (this) implies is the realization that the problem calls for bold and necessarily costly measures.

(Martin, 1978:107)

Finally, after much public debate in 1971 the Commonwealth Government brought in the Immigration (Education) Act which provided funds to government and independent schools to teach migrant children English in special classes, but no allocation of capital funds for classrooms was made, causing an inevitable accommodation crisis.

It is interesting to note that as Martin points out, ethnic communities played almost no part in the public debate at this time. Their official pressure groups were not yet formed.

At the end of the sixties, then, those who developed the concept of migrants as a disadvantaged group were Australians located within established organisations, but they were often in some way or other in marginal positions, like social workers in the Victorian Education Department or Protestant clergy with views about social responsibility that ran counter to their church's traditional priorities. Academics studying the social aspects of migration also began to contribute to the public debate (for example Price; Zubrzycki; and Wilkes)

(Martin, 1978:21)

In the mid-1970s a public debate began concerning the adult migrant education program. By 1975 adult migrant teachers' associations had been formed in NSW and Victoria to provide focal points for the professional and industrial needs of teachers. By this time there had been a small number of permanent teacher appointments - 11 out of a staff of 70 in NSW by 1975. The spearhead of the attack was on the complete inadequacy of the service to meet the needs of migrants, and on the traditional reluctance of the State or Federal authorities to do anything to improve the situation. The statements issued by the staff associations in both NSW and Victoria in 1976 point to a number of shortcomings: the confused distribution of responsibility between State and Commonwealth; the concept of migrant education as meeting a temporary need, the small number of students catered for; the inadequacy of student allowances; the fact that courses and materials assumed literacy in the migrant's native tongue and lack of variety to meet the range of student needs; inadequate selection procedures for recruiting students into the more demanding courses (with the result that for many the experience is "humiliating and soul destroying"); and lack of opportunity for teachers to contribute to the production of materials. A major factor in the perpetuation of these shortcomings has clearly been the isolation of the migrant teaching service:

Federal Governments have long used this confusion (ie. the 1951 administrative arrangement with the States) to avoid meeting their obligations to migrants and salaried staff at the MEB [Migrant Education Branch]. Under the present arrangement, the MEB is regarded as a temporary phenomenon with all the attendant inadequacies. The MEB staff have never known if they are really State or Federal employees, nor where to turn to demand improvements in the program and in their conditions of employment, for brick walls abound. From one authority one may meet dumb silence, from another an ignorant shrug of the shoulders, from a third, a "tut-tut", and from another the suggestion that things aren't really so bad, and from everyone, but everyone, a rapid "passing of the buck".

(Victorian M.E.B. Staff Association, 1976:11)

There is little doubt that this type of serious public examination of the Government's adult education provision for migrants by the professionals in the service has been a catalyst for much of the re-thinking that has taken place since 1976. However, in spite of official government research into the problems of the adult migrant education program, commissioned by both State and Federal governments at the time[11], and the firm support the professional associations evoked from the newly established Ethnic Communities Councils in both States, it would be safe to conclude that there would have been very little change had it not been for the recommendations of the Galbally Report of 1978 being accepted in their entirety by the Liberal-National (Conservative) coalition Government of Malcolm Fraser in that year.

Adult Education for a Multicultural Society, 1978 to 1985

The Galbally Report, 1978

Although prior to 1978 Commonwealth Governments had consulted ethnic groups and professional workers on existing government services and the needs of migrants, as can be seen in the work of the Migrant Task Forces set up throughout Australia between 1972-74 by Al Grassby as Minister for Immigration, it was not until 1977 that widespread consultations with ethnic groups about government and non-government services took place across Australia. There was a belief at the time that because of the changes which had taken place in the 1970s in the immigration program there was a need for the Commonwealth Government "to change direction in the provision of programs and services for migrants and to take further steps to encourage multiculturalism" (Galbally Report, 1978:3-4).

The rationale behind the review of existing programs and services for migrants was outlined as follows:

We believe Australia is at a critical stage in the development of a cohesive, united, multicultural nation. This has come about because of a number of significant changes in recent years - changes in the pattern of migration and in the structure of our population, changes in attitudes to migration and to our responsibilities for international refugees, changes in the needs of the large and growing numbers of ethnic groups in our community, and changes in the roles of governments and the community generally in responding to those needs.

(ibid:3)

As a result of the Labor Government's surrender of the White Australia Policy in 1971 and the Liberal-National Coalition Government's acceptance of an official refugee policy with countries like Vietnam in 1976,

the pattern of migration has altered in the past six years, with the proportion of migrants from Britain and other European countries falling from 70 per cent to less than 40 per cent. Meanwhile there has been a significantly increased migration from the Middle East and Asia (including refugees) and more recently from South America.

(ibid:3)

The significance of the Galbally Report, as the document came to be known, is that the Commonwealth Government for the first time officially recognised that migrants had serious social and economic disadvantages, that substantial improvements were needed in the delivery of social and welfare

services, and that migrants should be involved in determining needs and service delivery. What was more significant was that in a climate of general economic constraint, the Government actually accepted all 57 recommendations in toto and agreed to disburse \$50 million over the next three years for the implementation of the recommendations. An evaluation of these measures was to take place after three years.

As far as the Commonwealth AMEP was concerned, the Report recommended that the Government fund and plan adult migrant education as a permanent program; proposed that it be considerably expanded and restructured over a three-year period; and outlined objectives and priorities to guide its development.

During the 1970s there had been a number of important changes in the adult migrant education program as a result of the governments of the day responding to changes in their immigration policies. In this period migrant education centres were set up in all capital cities thus centralising administrative procedures in each State. In 1973, ten-week full-time courses with a paid living allowance were extended to migrants with sub-professional, technical or trade backgrounds. At this time also courses in industry were commenced in Sydney focussing on basic language needs of workers, machine operators and supervisors, including safety aspects. In 1974 a Home Tutor Scheme was established in which Good Neighbour Councils participated with other organisations in the administration and coordination of the program.[12] The scheme was designed to offer voluntary English-language assistance in the home on a one-to-one basis to those migrants who, for various reasons, were unable or reluctant to make use of courses and classes available on a more formal basis. In 1977 under the Fraser Liberal-National coalition Government, special full-time courses were introduced for Indo-Chinese refugees in hostels as a response to the dramatic change in the pattern of migration.

The Galbally Report recommended significant changes in the organisation and approach of the set courses and methodology espoused by the Commonwealth Government in the AMEP.

We have heard criticisms of many aspects of the adult English program (including teaching methods, teacher training, materials, locations of courses, etc.) and in later paragraphs we refer to the necessity for a longer-term approach to program development. This would include in the early stages a survey of migrants' needs for English instruction. However we believe there are urgent short-term changes which should be made now to the existing program, affecting courses, teachers and materials.

(ibid: 4)

The major innovation in the AMEP was to be a new settlement program for migrants on arrival in Australia. There was a great deal of support for the development of such a program "in submissions from and discussions with ethnic groups, voluntary agencies, social workers, employers, unions and professional bodies" (ibid:30).

The components of this initial settlement program were to be: initial accommodation; an initial intensive course in English for the majority of incoming migrants who did not speak English; information about Australia, its institutions and services; assistance and counselling in finding employment and housing (Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs, Review of the On-Arrival Education Program, 1981:2).

The English language and information component of the initial settlement program came to be known as the OAEP (On-Arrival Education Program), which was specifically designed to give priority to migrants or refugees who spoke little or no English on arrival. A direct departure from all previous programs was the bilingual information component about Australian life and its institutions to assist new arrivals to surmount initial settlement problems.

Another program innovation which was significant was a change in the concept and presentation of continuation classes:

These classes have been operating since 1948 and we believe their value for many migrants is doubtful. In recent years drop-out rates have been about 50 per cent and average monthly enrolments have been only 25 per cent of total annual enrolments.

(Galbally Report:44)

The classes were to be replaced with restructured certificate courses of defined length at different levels of ability and with clear goals against which students could assess their progress.

Courses in industry were to be extended. Special allocations were to be made to employ appropriate people to promote the program with employers and unions. The Home Tutor Scheme was to be expanded with AMES in each State in control of the administration of the scheme.

After 28 years some official concern was finally shown for the difficulties experienced by those migrants who "have qualified overseas in professional and sub-professional occupations which have substantial public contact, but whose limited command of English is an obstacle to the recognition of their qualifications and their employment in this country in the occupations for which they are qualified" (ibid:51). New special intensive English courses (lasting a maximum of six months) were developed; course members were to receive a living allowance equivalent to the unemployment benefit. They were seen to be of particular benefit to people in public contact occupations such as doctors, nurses, social workers, teachers, etc.

For the first time there was official concern for the pre-service training of teachers and the production of materials which were relevant to students' learning needs. There was also a marked divergence from the past, with the emphasis on English language materials and methodology to be based on the learning needs of the migrants.

We have found no mechanism by which the needs of migrants for learning English may be continuously assessed or by which methods and schemes to meet the existing and changing needs of migrants may be developed, coordinated and implemented. In the past, judgments on needs for English language teaching appear to have been made on the basis of demand for largely unadvertised existing courses and other imperfect information. We believe that ... a regular and comprehensive statement of needs for English language teaching provides the only sound basis from which a consistent approach to the whole program and the detailed content of courses can be developed.

(ibid:48)

Consequently, it was recommended that the needs of migrants be comprehensively surveyed and that such information be used as a basis for future program development.

A further departure from the past which was initiated by the recommendations of the Galbally Report was the proposal for the language and culture training of professionals. This proposal was the first official indication that not all responsibility for settlement difficulties rested with the migrant, that language learning was part of a communication process, and that this process depended on others in the society the migrant had to deal with. Consequently it was recommended that:

Professionals, including those studying and those currently in practices in areas with large migrant clientele, should receive assistance in obtaining, or upgrading, language skills and understanding cultural differences.

(ibid:51)

The Reaction to Galbally

Extensive reviews of the implementation of the 57 recommendations of the Galbally Report have taken place in recent years and the original Report as well as the reviews themselves has aroused often heated public comment.

The most controversial of the reviews has been the Evaluation of Post-Arrival Programs and Services by the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs (AIMA), released in May, 1982.[13] Basically the AIMA Evaluation concluded that:

The Report's essential relevance is undiminished. The package of programs and services it recommended, has made, and continues to make, a crucial contribution to the well-being of migrants and to the commitment to a multicultural nation. This conclusion rests upon the Evaluation's research, extensive contact with individuals, community groups and organisations throughout Australia, on a survey of post-arrival programs and services in a number of other countries receiving large numbers of immigrants.

(Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs,
Evaluation of Post-Arrival Programs & Services 1982:11)

Although the Evaluation admits that expectations have not always been realised (such as in the proposed expansion of industry classes), through either lack of interest or agreement amongst the different parties involved,

The Evaluation concludes that implementation of the Report's proposals has been of substantial benefit to migrants both newly arrived and longer resident; to Australia's ethnic groups; and to the community as a whole. The years since the Report have seen the establishment and extension of programs and services which together make up what is perhaps the most comprehensive system of migrant and multicultural services in the world. In several key areas, Australian provisions are unique. (ibid:9)[14]

The Evaluation has been strongly criticised on a number of grounds, among them for its lack of consultation with migrants actually involved in receiving government services:

Consultations and discussions were conducted with established ethnic organisations and professionals involved in the ethnic welfare industry. There were few (if any) discussions with migrant workers, migrant communities, migrant youth or unions directly involved with the situation of the majority of non-English-speaking migrants.

(Faulkner & Storer, 1982:7)

At a public seminar sponsored by the Ethnic Communities Council of NSW, Australian Council of Churches, NSW Teachers Federation, the Australian Council of the Ageing and others on 18 September 1982, the following resolution was agreed upon:

This meeting soundly condemns the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs' Evaluation and in particular its research methodology and lack of consultation with concerned groups. We request the Federal Government to withdraw its acceptance of the document.

(ibid:19)[15]

Although substantial pieces of research were carried out as part of the Evaluation, nowhere in the Report are the studies detailed, with the exception of the demographic material. Rather, it appears that the material has been used eclectically as it was needed throughout the report.

Further criticism of the Evaluation points to the total disregard of the economic climate of the time. The Evaluation does not take into account the fact that by June 1982 the Government's own economic spokesmen were estimating no growth in employment in the foreseeable future and the unemployment figure had reached 460,000. There is no discussion or even acknowledgement of the issue (Faulkner & Storer, 1982:7). Nor is there any comment on what the increased migrant inflow since 1977/78 implied in the circumstances, or about the implications of the increased proportion of this inflow being made up of relatively low-skilled, non-English-speaking Refugee and Family Reunion entrants.

As far as adult education programs are concerned the Evaluation by AIMA made no dramatic changes to the Galbally recommendations. The strategy for the AMEP embraced a number of objectives designed to meet the short and medium term requirements of improving the English proficiency of adults from non-English-speaking backgrounds. The short-term objectives were establishing the On-Arrival Education Program; setting up pilot courses for overseas professionals and sub-professionals; improving and extending the On-Going Program courses; and materials and teacher development. At the same time, the Report had mid-term objectives of establishing mechanisms for determining needs and evaluating the development of the On-Going Program through Commonwealth/States agreements on data collection and conducting a survey on migrant needs. The Evaluation concluded:

This Evaluation considers most of these objectives still remain valid, as do many of the specific recommendations made to realise them.

(Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs,
Evaluation of Post-Arrival Programs & Services, 1982:85)

A significant development in adult education programs for migrants was the recommendation by the AIMA Evaluation for a mechanism to be set up for migrants to be able to use the educational services and programs provided for all Australians in the community. To this end AMEP programs were to be aimed at increasing English proficiency sufficiently to allow bridging into TAFE (Technical and Further Education) courses. The Evaluation recommended that ESP (English for Specific Purposes) should be conducted by TAFE in order to act as a "bridge" for students to participate in mainstream TAFE courses. These courses were for students at an advanced level of English.

It is interesting to note that it had taken 35 years for this process to take place, for English language programs of the Commonwealth Government to be seen as a bridge for the migrant into the normal educational provisions of the society.

We have seen in this section the modest beginnings of what today is known as the Adult Migrant Education Program. The first course took place in 1947 when 800 Displaced Persons at Bonegilla Reception Centre were offered English classes for one month. Over the next few years, courses offered were extended to include day and evening part-time English classes, radio, correspondence, pre-embarkation and shipboard classes. The ad hoc nature of the development of these programs and the administrative arrangements between Commonwealth and State Governments under the 1951 "Agreement" indicated the temporary nature of the education program for migrants. Adult education for migrants was narrowly defined from the outset as education in the English language for the purpose of assimilation. This view was closely linked at all times to the exigencies of the immigration policy which until very recently was based on solid economic reasons - migrants were necessary to provide a labour force which would develop the country.

For almost 30 years developments which occurred in the adult education program came either through a response to a crisis, such as the arrival of mostly university student refugees from Czechoslovakia in 1968, or through the activism of professionals in the mid-1970s. There was no long-term planning and no permanency in the program. A legislative base was not obtained until the Immigration (Education) Act of 1971. However, the final administrative arrangements between the States and the Federal Government still have not been worked out.

It was against this background of an adult education program consisting of a disparate range of courses, often initiated as a response to short term stimuli, that Galbally's Review of Post-Arrival Programs and Services for Migrants was conducted. The Report was a watershed in the development of services for migrants, not least in the adult migrant education area. For the first time in 31 years the government was to consider the funding and planning of adult migrant education as a permanent program which was to be based on the needs of the migrant. Furthermore, in 1982 a most significant breakthrough was made in the development of adult migrant education with the setting up of bridging courses into the mainstream education system of technical and further education.

Currently, the Commonwealth Government is in the process of conducting the most comprehensive review which has ever been undertaken of the AMEP since its inception.

Because the Commonwealth States and Territories share responsibility for the Program, the Review Committee will consult with the States and Territories. It will also hear from migrants, refugees and teachers.[16]

The emphasis today is on assessing the ability of the program to meet the language needs of migrants. This is a far cry from the assimilationist policy of the past which taught English language prescriptively without any recognition that migrants, not being a uniform group, possess diverse needs for language and communication skills.

NOTES ON CHAPTERS 1 AND 2

1. An "ethnic group" is defined as a group of people who share a particular national origin, religion, language and/or culture and who are subjectively identified as part of that group, either by other members of the group or by people outside the group (Parkin, 1984:15). While technically every person must thus have ethnic identity, academics and Australian Government documents do not normally include people of Anglo-Celtic descent in their discussions of ethnicity and ethnic groups in Australia.
2. In a survey of multilingual competence in an Aboriginal settlement of about 1,000 in Arnhem Land in 1977, it was found that adult members of the community spoke on average 4.7 languages. It seemed that most members of the community were at least bilingual (Elwell, 1982).
3. For Census purposes the definition of "Aboriginal" is based on self-identification as an Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander.
4. In 1861, during the Gold Rushes, the Chinese constituted 47% of foreign-born individuals in Australia (Parkin, 1984:18).
5. Australia. Immigration Planning Council, 1968:67. See this document for a detailed discussion of the Special Passage Assistance Program, and for a discussion of other government policies on migrant settlement.
6. Family Migration is self-explanatory. Labour Shortage and Business Migration permits a limited migration response to particular needs and shortages in the Australian workforce. "Independent Migration" covers those intending migrants with outstanding characteristics who are ineligible to migrate in any other category. A "Refugee", as defined by the United Nations Geneva Convention, 1951, is a person who lives outside his/her country of nationality because of "well-grounded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion". People covered by Special Humanitarian Programs include those who technically are not refugees (for example, they still live in their country of nationality), but whose situations in other respects is like that of a refugee. "Special eligibility" covers: Trans-Tasman arrangements, self-supporting retirees and special creative or sporting talents.
7. These figures were stated in the Budget 1984/85. News Release by Hon. S. West, Minister for Immigration & Ethnic Affairs, AGPS.
8. By 1974 the popular term for the immigration policy was "integration" rather than assimilation.
9. In June 1984, the Committee became the Council on Overseas Professional Qualifications, a permanent part of Commonwealth Government machinery established under appropriate legislation. This was in response to a recommendation of the Committee of Inquiry into the recognition of overseas qualifications (Fry Report), AGPS, Canberra, 1982.
10. Jerzy Zubrzycki, born in Poland, took up a post at the ANU in 1956. Since that time he has been very actively involved in research and on government committees concerning migrant settlement in Australia.

11. The Commonwealth reviewed the NSW Adult Migrant Education Service (AMES) in 1976 and the Commonwealth States arrangements entered into in 1951, but the report was never made public. At the same time, as a response to the activism of the New South Wales Association of Adult Migrant Teachers, the State Minister for Education, Mr E. Bedford, commissioned an enquiry into the operations of AMES which was undertaken by an officer of the NSW Public Service Board, J.D. Gibson, in 1976.
12. The Good Neighbour Councils were established throughout Australia by the Commonwealth Government in 1950 in order to help migrants assimilate into the society. They concentrated largely on British migrants, did not accept non-British ethnic group members until the 1960s, and employed almost entirely an English-speaking staff. With the acceptance of the recommendation of the Galbally Report that Good Neighbour Councils be no longer funded by the Commonwealth Government, AMES in each State became responsible for the co-ordination and expansion of the Home Tutor Scheme in 1978.
13. AIMA was itself set up as a result of one of the recommendations of the Galbally Report.
14. One unique provision referred to here is the establishment of the SBS (Special Broadcasting Service) of ethnic radio and multicultural television.
15. The Ethnic Communities Council had become the official lobby group of the ethnic communities in NSW in 1975. The views of the members organisations about the Galbally Report and the Evaluation by AIMA are expressed in the document which was prepared before the seminar, The Post-Galbally Era, Ethnic Communities Council of NSW, 3rd November, 1981.
16. Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, News Release, 9 March, 1985, p.2.

PART II

ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAMS AND PRACTICES

Introduction

Any examination of adult education provision within the context of a multicultural society needs to consider both the adult education provision for the ethnic communities and programs and practices for the host society. Furthermore, such provision needs to be examined in the light of the two basic principles enshrined in the policy of multiculturalism espoused by the Commonwealth Government of today: the fostering and maintenance of a cohesive, harmonious, pluralist society and equality of opportunity for all to participate fully in the society. (A full exposition of the Government's policy on Multiculturalism is given in Part III, Chapter 9)

As adult education in Australia is extremely fragmented and based on multi-agency provision, Part II of the report aims to examine examples of specific adult education provision for ethnic communities and Anglo-Celtic Australians within one State, namely New South Wales, in an attempt to indicate the approaches and methods employed and the assumptions on which these are based. The analysis will be made within the overall framework of Commonwealth Government policy in this area with reference being made to NSW in particular and other States such as Victoria and South Australia, where possible. Adult education programs of government and non-government institutions and agencies will be considered in an attempt to assess what is the optimum provision of adult education for ethnic communities and Anglo-Celtic Australians within the context of a multicultural society.

Definition of Adult Education and Framework for the Study

The term 'adult education' denotes the entire body of organised educational processes, whatever the content, level and method, whether formal or otherwise, whether they prolong or replace initial education in schools, colleges and universities as well as in apprenticeships, whereby persons regarded as adult by the society to which they belong develop their abilities, enrich their knowledge, improve their technical or professional qualifications or turn them in a new direction and bring about changes in their attitudes or behaviour in the twofold perspective of full personal development and participation in balanced and independent social, economic and cultural development[Unesco, 26 November, 1976][1].

The following aspects of adult education, extracted from the Unesco definition, will provide a framework for the consideration of adult education provision within the context of a multicultural society in New South Wales, the most populous State in Australia:

- i. development of abilities;
- ii. enrichment of knowledge;
- iii. improvement of technical and professional qualifications;
- iv. attitude change;

v. full personal development and participation in society.

As has been discussed (in Part I) the major commitment of the Commonwealth Government to the education of migrants since 1947 has been to English language instruction which is seen as the most important means of assisting migrants to settle into Australian society. The budget of \$44m for 1984/85 for more than 120,000 students throughout Australia indicates the Government's commitment and the scope of the program.[2]

The adult educational services for migrants in Australia are organised, generally speaking, around two main goals:

- (a) those oriented towards making the transitional (settlement) period easier and facilitating the participation of individuals in community life as quickly and as fully as possible;
- (b) those making it possible for ethnic groups to exercise their right both as communities and as individuals to maintain their own language and their cultural heritage and to integrate this heritage into the culture of Australian society as a whole.

However, such general goals do not take into account sufficiently the fact that different ethnic groups have quite specific needs depending on their cultural background, linguistic specificities, and the social or political characteristics of their country of origin. In a situation where the immigration is an effect of a more-or-less mass exodus from certain geographical and political areas, these differences become much more significant and create a need for more elaborate and specific provisions of English language programs. Such a particular situation was created by the wave of Indo-Chinese refugees in Australia in the mid-1970s, and more recently in connection with the arrival of Polish refugees (Ethnic Affairs Commission of NSW, 1983:87).

There are three main institutions in New South Wales dealing with English language teaching (and other educational programs) for adult migrants: Adult Migrant Education Service (AMES); Technical and Further Education (TAFE); and the Institute of Languages, University of New South Wales. AMES takes the main responsibility for the general on-arrival and ongoing courses; TAFE organises English language courses as well as bridging and specialised courses (both on the more elementary and advanced levels); and the Institute of Languages deals with the more advanced intensive language courses. New forms of courses are frequently initiated by all institutions. Among the most recent initiatives has been the introduction of a multicultural policy by TAFE in July 1983.

The Main Program Areas

AMES, part of the Commonwealth Adult Migrant Education Program, with an annual budget of over \$13 million and some 50,000 enrolments each year is the largest single provider of English language programs for adults in Australia (NSW Adult Migrant Education Service, 1984:1). There are 13 regional Education Centres in and around Sydney and Wollongong together with a network of locally based classes held in a variety of locations throughout metropolitan and country areas. All courses are free. The aims of the service are:

to assist migrants to develop the language needed for day to day life in Australia, and to provide a smooth transition from AMES programs to other educational opportunities, whether they be in the area of careers, interests, or further studies in English language[3].

Courses teaching English for adults are divided into two components - an on-arrival phase and an on-going phase.

On arrival courses are oriented towards the most immediate needs of new immigrants and include not only language instruction but also a component of general information about Australian society, usually presented bilingually. To be eligible for an on-arrival course migrants must apply during their first 12 months. A living allowance is available subject to a means test. Courses usually entail daily attendance for 4 hours per day, 5 days a week for 10 weeks.

These courses are intended to equip the newly arrived migrants with a basic minimum level of English - to find work and accommodation, to deal with government agencies and to take part in basic day to day conversation. This is an important aim, but the idea of minimum level of English is defined differently by various ethnic groups and individuals depending on their educational backgrounds, occupations and aspirations in the host country.

The problems raised most frequently in relation to these courses are related to the fact that at this elementary level of teaching language, the specificities of native language and other cultural characteristics of the participants play the most significant role, determining the usefulness of different methods of teaching. Therefore, though undoubtedly helpful and evaluated as such by the majority of the participants, this type of course generates some criticism.

Among newly arrived Polish migrants the criticism is directed mainly at the insufficient intensity of these courses, and to their basic methodological orientation towards 'survival' and 'social intercourse' rather than towards formal language teaching, including the ability to read and write (Ethnic Affairs Commission of NSW, 1983:83). Although the initial level of knowledge of the English language has not been necessarily higher among this group than among other recent migrants, their relatively high level of education enables them to learn quickly. Furthermore, the preference for an intensive and formal method of language

teaching, with emphasis on the structure of language rather than vocabulary, is related to their being accustomed to rather traditional methods of foreign language teaching common in Poland and their high education level.

On the other hand, a study of the experiences of Indo-Chinese refugees concerning on-arrival classes revealed that many of them did not have the technical competence in their own language to cope with the learning of English. The majority of critics of the on-arrival courses indicated that 'either need would have been met more adequately had a bilingual teacher been used'(Australia. Dept of Immigration & Ethnic Affairs, 1982(c): 76).

The above responses of two diverse ethnic groups to the on-arrival courses indicate the danger of presenting uniform programs irrespective of specific learning needs of migrants and refugees. A recent study into needs analysis and objective setting in the Adult Migrant Education Program concluded:

If a learner-centred system is to be implemented in the AMEP, then it is essential that there should be some clear and widely disseminated policy statements on the view which is taken of the adult learner in the AMEP, the role of needs analysis in AMEP learning programs and the extent to which learners are to be involved in determining the content and objectives of their own learning. If, in this way, some measure of agreement can be reached on policy objectives, then these objectives can be pursued more efficiently through standardisation and improvement of various pre-course information collection procedures while at the same time, mechanisms for facilitating on-going information exchange, objective setting and evaluation can be further explored through a wide-ranging re-examination of current provision in the areas of educational counselling, teacher development, bi-lingual resources, materials and research.

(Bagshaw & Bindley, 1984:15)

On-going courses are designed to meet the needs of the earlier arrivals who have not attended classes previously or who need to improve their current level of English. They also cater for those more recent arrivals who have not attended on-arrival courses, as well as those who need to reinforce skills developed during earlier courses.

The on-going phase, covering a range of both general and specific English-language needs, includes full-time and part-time intensive courses, part-time continuation classes, correspondence courses, a television program to teach English, courses in industry, women's day courses and the Home Tutor Scheme (AIMA, 1980:93).

The general program courses, providing a sequence of different levels, are available to students whether or not they have completed on-arrival courses. Courses cater from beginners through to more advanced learners. Once advanced English language studies in particular subject areas are needed, students are referred to TAFE or other suitable programs.

Full-time general courses for more advanced students are provided by the Institute of Languages at the University of New South Wales. Part-time advanced courses are available in different centres, but all advanced courses require an admission test as a condition of acceptance. The

second condition, and often more problematic, is the availability of vacant places. There are long waiting-lists for these courses at all AMES centres.

The specialised courses in English language are available in a wide variety of forms, some of which are only experimental. All of these courses have a rather limited number of students, taking into account the demand for such courses.

Self Access Centres or Individual Study Centres are located at most regional AMES centres. These enable learners to arrange a program suited to their particular interests at times to suit themselves. Programs are devised in conjunction with a teacher and students progress at their own pace, calling upon the advice and assistance of staff in the centre as needed.

These centres have been set up for students whose social and family commitments prevent them from attending more formally organised courses, or whose employment conditions, such as shift work, prevent regular attendance; those who by their own preference wish to study individually, or who have a specific requirement such as a branch of technical English and, finally, those who may be waiting for a place to become available in a formal course.

Reading and Writing Centres are based at some of the education centres. These offer specialised classes to migrants who have difficulties with reading, writing and spelling. Students for these specialised programs need to be reasonably fluent in spoken English and are interviewed prior to placement in a class. The interview assesses their strengths and weaknesses and specific needs in reading and writing skills. Classes consist of 5 or 6 students with similar needs.

It is generally accepted that the ultimate goal in English language instruction is for reading and writing skills to be treated as individually important components of all language learning programs and not just a way of reinforcing oral skills. However, until this occurs, the programs offered by the Reading and Writing centres are an excellent means of bridging gaps in the language needs of all migrants, particularly those who have been here for a long time and have not been able to avail themselves of AMES programs in the past.

Distance learning arrangements provide language learning opportunities for people who are unable, because of personal, social or geographical circumstances to use other facilities which are provided by AMES. Students can enrol in a correspondence course which consists of a series of booklets and audio tapes. The booklets are completed by students and then forwarded to tutors for correction.

Following the development of a learner-centred methodology and a comprehensive syllabus in 1982-83, a team was established in the Adelaide College of Technical and Further Education, South Australia, to develop a new correspondence course for the Australian Adult Migrant Education Program(Australia. Dept of Immigration & Ethnic Affairs, 1984(b): 88).

AMES is currently involved in a national project which is developing new directions for learning English at a distance including exploration of recent developments in the use of radio and TV for learning at home.

Although a production team of writers, designers, artists and specialists in the presentation of publications and audio tapes has been engaged, the process is a lengthy and involved one and it is likely to be 1986 before the new course is complete[4].

A television program to teach English has been funded by the Commonwealth Government and is currently being prepared by the Special Broadcasting Service (SBS) in conjunction with AMES. The program which is aimed at beginners in English language learning, is intended to motivate migrants to learn English. It is not scheduled to go on air till late 1985. The only program produced previously was 'You Say The Word' by a Wollongong television station in 1979.

Community classes are offered outside AMES education centres for students who prefer to learn in the familiar surroundings of their local or ethnic community, or find difficulty in travelling. Courses are set up in conjunction with local government organisations, ethnic and community groups and voluntary agencies, and are usually held in accommodation provided by these organisations.

Length and time of courses are arranged to suit the requirements of the particular group of students. Sessions usually last two hours and may be offered two, three or four times per week. Many community classes and AMES centres also provide free child care arrangements either at the same location or close by. Children from several months to five years old are catered for.

The Home Tutor Scheme is designed to offer voluntary English language assistance in the home on a one-to-one basis to those migrants who, for various reasons, are unable to go out to classes but who are nonetheless motivated to improve their general ability to communicate in English. The Scheme is directed primarily, but not exclusively, to migrant women who are isolated in the home. At present there are approximately 1,000 tutors in NSW with a corresponding number of students.

The Scheme, which depends heavily on tutor and student volunteers, has both educational and social goals:

- . to improve English-language proficiency in the informal situation of the home
- . to encourage integration into the community through the development of social contact
- . to facilitate progression towards more formal classes (AIMA, 1980:94).

The tutor usually visits the student's home for a two-hour lesson each week. Largely because of the flexible and informal nature of the scheme, tutors are able to repond quickly to the individual needs of students and concentrate on such different aspects of language learning as basic language or literary skills, specialised English, pronunciation or conversation. The scheme is organised in each State by a co-ordinator, whose responsibilities include matching students with suitable tutors, organising training courses and other support for tutors, and counselling students.

The scheme, although very satisfying to both tutors and students, has some serious problems. All AMES centres have long waiting lists for the scheme and have reported difficulties in providing tutors in areas of high migrant density, particularly in the western suburbs of both Sydney and Melbourne. They have been unable to attract large numbers of tutors from the ethnic communities (AIMA, 1982: 76).

The Industry Program or English in the Workplace as it is now called, is designed to improve the English language proficiency of migrant workers. In particular, the courses aim to help migrant workers to communicate more effectively on the job, thereby increasing their safety, productivity and opportunity for advancement.

The first English courses in the workplace were set up in 1973. Since then the program has expanded steadily to include government departments and statutory authorities, private companies and community and voluntary organisations. At present the program in NSW caters for approximately 2,500 employees who are able to participate in courses varying in length from 42 to 60 hours.

Recent developments in this program have given it a very significant role to play in fostering equal opportunity for migrants and developing intercultural understanding. For this reason, a detailed exposition of the program is presented at the end of this chapter.

The above AMES programs are mainly based on the assumption that the most important need of migrants, especially in the early settlement phase, is the attainment of a level of English, from a very basic to an advanced level, which will assist them in their adjustment to Australian society. These programs also assume that migrants are able or willing to take advantage of the services offered without cost to the student.

There are some underlying problems associated with these assumptions. First, it has been estimated by researchers and government reports that within Australia there is a minimum of 300,000 migrants who have little or no proficiency in the English language (Ethnic Affairs Commission, 1984:6)[5].

A recent study has shown that up to 30,000 migrants living in Sydney, who have been there as long as 10 years, either cannot speak English or do so poorly, despite the availability of free English language classes (King, 1982: 3-4). The aim of the study was to find out why the 'backlog' of migrants, identified by the Galbally Report in 1978, had taken no steps to learn English.

Underlying poor motivation, it was found that ethnic community 'shielding' creates a situation where it may not be necessary for some migrants to learn English; that is, they may be able to manage their daily activities because children or relatives act as translators and interpreters, and because migrants choose to only face certain social and commercial situations (King & Palser, 1983: 133). If the 'backlog' is to be reduced, there is a need to restructure language programs to allow for specific migrant needs and ethnic behaviour such as shielding. The study recommends that a greater effort should be made to reach migrants in their local communities, at a 'grass roots level' in homes and small neighbour groups.

The assumption that migrants are willing and able to take advantage of the services offered by AMES is disputed by the fact that the most basic need for migrants to settle in Australia is not to learn English but to find work and be financially secure. It is reasonable to expect in times of high unemployment such as these that migrants will be keen and willing to learn English only in so far as the language skills will assist them in their search for work. Since a large proportion of students in AMES classes are recently arrived and unemployed (Rudnik, 1984)[6] the question arises as to the content of courses - should general English be taught or English for specific purposes? If AMES programs are to be needs-based and learner-centred then consideration ought to be given in the planning of courses to the expectations of the students and their educational, linguistic and cultural background. This approach entails corresponding changes in the materials used and methodology employed by the teachers, which in turns lead to the question of research, curriculum design and staff development.

Research, Materials, Curriculum and Teacher Development

There is little doubt that the Galbally Report of 1978 and its innovatory infusion of resources into research into the language needs of migrants, preparation of locally based teaching materials and staff development programs for teachers, has changed the face of the Adult Migrant Education Program (AMEP) in Australia and of the AMES in NSW in particular.

Since 1980 fifteen community-based studies have been carried out throughout Australia under the auspices of the AMEP Research and Evaluation Program. These studies were carried out in all States and Territories in order to survey the needs of migrants for English language teaching and to collect information from which future program development could proceed' (For further detailed information on the finding, see King and Palser, 1983; Keys Young, 1982; Coppell, Baumgart, Tenezakis, 1980; Morrissey and Palser, 1983; Gain and Jackson, 1984). The studies carried out in NSW were mainly in the inner city and western suburbs of Sydney as well as in Wollongong where the economy is dominated by the iron and steel industry and coal production. These areas contain the largest concentration of non-English-speaking migrants in the state. Although there were individual differences in the findings of these community based studies, in general the studies agree that:

1. The large 'backlog' of migrants who have failed to attend English language classes cannot be simply explained by apathy on the part of migrants. Rather, community shielding and life circumstances of the migrants are the most important factors keeping them away from classes.
 - (a) For the employed, the demands of work and family make attendance at classes difficult. Those involved in shiftwork, a normal practice in the manufacturing industry where the bulk of migrants are employed, have real problems in attending classes at a particular time every week. Besides, migrants working in industry are generally exhausted after a hard day's work.
 - (b) For unemployed as well as employed migrants, non-classroom situations provide the most effective way of learning English, since the acquisition of a new language is linked to some other desirable or necessary

activity, for example, English at the workplace for the employed, or English related to improving their chance for obtaining work for the unemployed.

11. While traditional classroom teaching of English does have a role in certain circumstances, in most situations the method has not produced effective results and is unlikely to do so in the future. Low attendance levels at classes cannot be improved simply by searching for some better times or locations. 'People are likely to overcome difficulties and attend classes if they feel that classes are appropriate to their particular needs' (King & Palser, 1983:28). A complete re-think is necessary. Classroom instruction needs to be seen as only one component of a much larger and more flexible package.

As part of the "rethink" of the AMEP since 1978, and more especially in the last three years, special moneys have been allocated to the States for materials, curriculum and teacher development.

'In keeping with AMEP emphasis on learner needs, a wide range of materials was produced at State, education centre and classroom levels' (Australia. Dept of Immigration & Ethnic Affairs, 1984(b): 88). In order to make these materials available to all AMES teachers throughout Australia, a Clearing House for the Adult Migrant Education Service (CHAMES) was set up at the Department of Technical and Further Education in Adelaide, South Australia in 1982. The need for such a centre became a matter of great importance with the increasing tendency over the past few years for AMES teachers to produce their own learning materials for their students. As a result of the setting up of CHAMES, materials such as an audio-visual 'Language of Childbirth' kit[7] produced by AMES in New South Wales has been widely distributed throughout Australia.

Closely linked with CHAMES is the National Materials and Syllabus Development Centre which was set up in 1984. The Centre has also been established at Adelaide College of Technical and Further Education to provide a national focus for materials and curriculum development work previously undertaken by individual Adult Migrant Education Services throughout Australia. The aim of the Centre is to support materials, curriculum and teacher development in the States and Territories of Australia.

'Within the NSW AMES, increases in funding for educational support services have led, over the past 15 months to a more systematic approach to curriculum, materials and teacher development' [8]. The approach to program delivery and methodology has been based on the following broad statement of educational philosophy.

The Program arrangements are made within an overall philosophy and set of administrative arrangements which encourage self-help, which increasingly place English language teaching firmly in the real-life situation and which assist people to learn English from their environment and from materials prepared for individualised learning (Australia. Dept of Immigration & Ethnic Affairs, 1982(a): 3).

A Curriculum Unit was set up in the NSW AMES in May, 1984, to develop professional support services for teachers and programs. The unit consists of five major sections:

Program Development
Materials Development
Staff Development
Research
Library and Resources Centre Services

All sections of the Unit, although distinct, work in close co-operation with one another, and curriculum project activity often overlaps a number of these areas. Members of the Unit oversee all State Curriculum activities and are available for professional support and advice to teachers. The Unit is also linked to CHAMES in Adelaide.

One of the primary aims of the Curriculum Unit is to involve teachers in professional activities and projects in the areas of action research, program design and development, classroom practice and materials and resource development. Thus AMES teachers are seconded from their normal positions in centres and programs to undertake curriculum projects, and relief is provided to cover their replacement costs.

Program development involves different kinds of program development projects. Some are large scale research projects, for example the current project is to examine how students' first language can be used in language learning programs. Others are smaller-scale projects, in which extra resources are allocated to teachers to research, design, deliver and evaluate innovative programs to meet different kinds of learner needs[9]. Funding is also made available for wider implementation of successful programs, for example The Language of Childbirth, which was originally offered in three hospitals in Sydney, is now being offered in hospitals throughout Australia.

In 1983-84 there were 15 program development and action research projects completed by AMES teachers (For a detailed outline, see Brindley, 1985). These can be broken down into three categories:

- i. projects that address specific needs, eg, long-term unemployment, nutrition and diet, childbirth;
- ii. projects that aim to develop specific skills, eg, listening skills, informal conversational skills;
- iii. projects which explore alternative teaching methods, eg, the use of bilingual resource personnel and bilingual teaching approaches.

Although these projects have been successful as pilot innovations, some problems need to be overcome before they can be incorporated within standard course provision. First, usually projects are mounted with a minimum of time for preparation and without consideration of on-going implementation factors such as the necessary procedures, resources and support systems so that clear, detailed implementation models can be developed to assist other centres and States interested in their adoption. Secondly, a successful project merely tests, within a specific context, whether the idea works or not. For wider implementation, adequate time needs to be allocated for support resources from program development, staff development and materials development. Thirdly, teacher understanding and acceptance of innovative programs are by no means certain. In fact, 'the rank and file generally prefer to continue with

the certainties of familiar approaches rather than undertake the uncertainties and hazards of new methods and ideas...(and) something from "outside" will involve intensive "selling strategies" to win teacher acceptance'[10].

Materials development provides educational resources necessary for program design and delivery. Projects may be initiated in three areas:

- i. Teaching/learning materials, eg, a course book, set of slides, listening tapes etc.
- ii. Educational access materials, eg, Information about courses, needs surveys, interview guidelines.
- iii. Professional support materials for teachers, e.g. teachers' manuals.

Since 1982 at least 19 projects have been completed and distributed, including two complex kits on developing reading and writing skills for individual or small group work, two serialised readers to encourage reading for pleasure, and a series of self-access modules on the language of technical English[11].

Projects have been selected in terms of the basic educational philosophy of AMES outlined previously and the extent to which they can act as models for teacher development of materials at centre and classroom levels. The Curriculum Unit of AMES believes that the use of well-designed material consistent with the educational philosophy/methodology being recommended is one of the most effective methods for developing teacher understanding of program innovations. Materials development projects with appropriate support are also seen as excellent staff development exercises in themselves[12].

However, there is a danger that such materials projects can be produced and distributed without careful assessment of how the material is being used and whether it is adequately supporting program delivery. With the movement towards increasingly learner-centred material, the material needs of learners also have to be taken into account in the development of materials projects. What is needed, apart from initial in-service training on the principles behind the use of kits and resources, is for follow up evaluation exercises to be undertaken to assess how material is being used and whether it is adequately supporting program delivery.

Staff development provides teachers with opportunities to keep up to date in developments in the field of TESOL (Teaching English as a Second or Other Language) and Adult Education. Some examples of recent in-service programs are:

Teaching Listening Skills
Pronunciation Workshop
Community Language Learning
Communications Workshop
Teaching Reading and Writing Skills

The library, located at the main education centre, Caltex House in Sydney, collects, organises and disseminates professional information in the areas of language teaching, ESL, adult education and Australia's multi-cultural society. It also provides a lending service, a reference service, inter-library loan facilities and on-line information retrieval facilities.

The Research Section is responsible for research in policy and planning matters, such as surveys into the demand for AMES services in particular areas, analysis of enrolment and attendance statistics, and also in matters which have direct bearing on classroom practice, such as the 1984 study Needs Analysis and Objective Setting in the AMEP (Bagshaw & Brindley, 1984). In the case of this example and many other research projects, the research section is closely linked with program development. In other instances such as the preparation of the AMES Ethnic Affairs Policy Statement[13] the issues in question involves all aspects of AMES including both program provision and professional support services.

Ethnic Community Impressions of AMES in New South Wales

In spite of the extensive nature of the adult migrant English language program in NSW and the innovations which have been introduced since 1978, it is useful to measure these against the impressions ethnic community groups and individuals have of AMES.

In August, 1981, the research officer at AMES carried out an analysis of the wide variety of impressions held by the people AMES is involved in serving - persons of a non-English-speaking background in the community (Plimer, 1981). The aim of the study was to develop a number of strategies to overcome problems of ignorance, misunderstanding and image of AMES. Although the report is not based on quantifiable data, it is objective in its method of analysis of subjective data. Most of the research consisted of consultations with individuals from non-English-speaking backgrounds, particularly potential learners; representatives and "leaders" of ethnic communities; and other State and Commonwealth departmental agencies and branches which provide or monitor services to non-English-speaking migrants.

Irrespective of the fact that some of the impressions may be slightly outdated, with certain developments having taken place in the AMES program since August, 1981, on the whole they do adhere to the conclusions of the most recent research carried out under the AMEP Research and Evaluation Program referred to previously.

Consultations with a wide cross-section of ethnic individuals and groups revealed the following impressions:

- i. On the general provision of English language classes, few persons have detailed knowledge of the scope and magnitude of the AMES programs.
- ii. The overall philosophy of AMEP (and of AMES) is seen as benevolent paternalism. The program does not reflect the view that it is the basic right of every person of non-English-speaking background to learn English - it is not something that should be asked for.
- iii. There is little consultation with either ethnic community groups or other government departments involved in migrant service delivery.
- iv. While there were positive comments about the teaching abilities and attitudes of AMES staff in day programs at hostels, major centres and community centres, there was also a good deal of criticism levelled at evening programs.

Criticism came mainly from students within evening programs of teachers not preparing suitable materials, treating the adults in the classroom like children, and being disrespectful to students.

- v. AMES is seen as providing a set package of programs and students must fit into one of these irrespective of their particular needs.
- vi. There was a request from many students and ex-students that courses be specifically related to employment skills because a great many non-refugee migrants, selected on the basis of their trade and technical skills, have great difficulty in obtaining skilled employment (if available) on account of a lack of knowledge of the relevant language.
- vii. Teachers on the whole do not appear to have a sound understanding of the different cultural backgrounds of their students.
- viii. The idea for the establishment of a student advisory committee (recommended by the Gibson Report to the State Minister of Education in 1976) has never been taken up. The perceived barrier has been the practical difficulties of how to set up such a mechanism mainly with groups of low language levels only together for a couple of months at most.
- ix. It has been suggested that consultation with students could be more formally organised through both extensive initial needs assessment and an end-of-course assessment and evaluation session utilising bilingual information instructors.
- x. As women constituted 53% of AMES students in 1980, lack of child care facilities is seen as a significant denial of the right of migrant women to participate in the program.
- xi. AMES should more actively recruit experienced ESL teachers from non-English-speaking backgrounds as an act of affirmative action discrimination in terms of Equal Opportunity Legislation[14].
- xii. The Ethnic Communities Council of NSW, as an umbrella group representing over 300 ethnic community groups, expressed the view that Government commitment to non-English speaking residents can only be a tokenistic gesture, so long as there are more casual teachers than permanent.
- xiii. The issue of bilingual teaching was raised by almost all respondents. The general view expressed is that in order for migrants (many of whom have little formal education) to gain the confidence to learn English which requires some understanding of their own language, bilingual teachers should be employed for specific groups of students.

- xiv. The question of publicity was raised by most respondents as an example of AMES shunning direct contact with ethnic communities.
- xv. The appointment of trained and sympathetic student counsellors would assist the placement of students in appropriate courses of AMES and would enable the transfer of students, on completion of their courses, to adult education programs available in the wider community.
- xvi. Although the important role of the Home Tutor Scheme in reaching isolated women was acknowledged, a major criticism which emerged was that the Scheme appears reluctant to recruit in areas of high migrant demand and as a result students can wait up to 18 months or more to be matched with a tutor. 'Increased activity, particularly the employment of community development oriented organisers could alter the commonly held view that the Scheme primarily serves to ease the social consciences of middle class do-gooders than to meet the need of its target group'(Plimer, 1981 15-16).
- xvii. Few people in Sydney knew of the existence of the English in Industry program which was based on AMES directly appealing to employers. The view was expressed that only minor growth could be achieved by this approach. What is needed is for legislation to be enacted to compel employers to provide language classes in work time along the lines of Italy and Sweden. 'The lack of such legislation is perceived as an example of the tokenistic commitment by government, unions and employers to services for the non-English speaking population of Australia. The view accords with the notion of rights outlined previously' (ibid: 16).

AMES Today: An Update on Policy & Programs

Since 1981 when the above impressions of the service were recorded, there have been some major changes in AMES. Many of the problems referred to were included in the Evaluation of Post-Arrival Programs and Services carried out by the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs in 1982.

The publicity for AMES classes has been largely improved by means of the ethnic media, both press and electronic, with the consequence of a significant increase in student enrolments. Continuation classes in the evenings have now been replaced and restructured with 'certificate courses of defined length at different levels of difficulty with clear goals against which students can assess their progress' (AIMA Evaluation, 1982:72). In NSW and Victoria the continuation program is divided into community day classes (largely women's classes), community evening classes and community special classes (in hospitals, rehabilitation centres and other public institutions). (ibid.:73)

Since 1983 ESP or English for Specific Purposes has been held at the NSW Department of Technical & Further Education. These courses, designed for persons with an advanced level of English, are aimed at providing a bridge for migrants with skilled and professional qualifications to undertake the additional study necessary to have their qualifications recognised. (See Chapter 4 for further details on ESP)

Apart from in-service courses to raise the awareness of teachers about the inter-cultural climate within which they teach, specific materials have been developed to assist the teacher in understanding the cultural background and language needs of the students. One such initiative has been the preparation of a handbook for teachers on the significance of cultural factors in the teaching of English to South East-Asian migrants. The groups considered in the handbook come from Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea.

Since the AMEP survey into the need for childcare for users and potential users of the AMEP in NSW, moneys have been allocated for the setting up of child care facilities at AMES centres and community classes. Furthermore, since 1983 the Commonwealth Government has been allocating special funds for the creation of additional permanent teaching positions in the AMES in each State. This has been seen as a major step in improving the delivery of the service. A broad agreement was reached with State/Territory Governments for up to 65 per cent of all teaching, preparation and administration hours associated with AMEP to be delivered by permanently employed staff. (Australia. DIEA, 1984(b): 86).

In 1983 the Commonwealth Government also provided additional funds for the extension of the average length of courses in industry from 42 to 60 hours. In June 1984, a review of arrangements was set up to assess their effectiveness and to identify options for future developments.

Undoubtedly, key issues still remain to be resolved, such as how effective needs assessment is to take place and be implemented in programs, and the question of consultation with students and ethnic community groups. It is hoped that the comprehensive review of the AMEP which is currently taking place (See Appendix VI) will provide the answers to these questions and many others, and in so doing will lead to the improvement of a very important service for migrants in a multicultural society.

Courses in Industry or English Language Learning in the Workplace

Although English in the Workplace only represents about five per cent of all AMES enrolments, it is one of the most significant programs when viewed within the context of a multicultural society.

Apart from evening courses, it is the only program primarily catering for employed people and it is the only one that takes place on work premises, usually in the employer's time. AMES courses conducted in the workplace are designed to develop communication skills on the job, by means of informal contact with workmates and in the wider community. 'The workplace and the industry/occupation simply provide the contexts in which the language is taught' (Plimer, 1984: 9). For many migrants courses held in the workplace during working hours may be the only opportunity they will have to attend English classes. Furthermore, such on the job classes are often seen as more relevant and immediately applicable than courses offered elsewhere.

Course arrangements vary from place to place depending on particular needs and circumstances of different employing organisations and authorities.

The two broad organisational options are:

- i. On-site classes designed for a group or groups of workers in a particular company or government authority.
- ii. Local area classes designed for workers drawn from a number of companies located in the same geographical area. These may be held in accommodation provided by some of the participating companies, in a conveniently located AMES centre, or in a local community facility. (AMES, 1984:3)

Course content is tailored to meet identified needs. All courses are designed by AMES teachers in consultation with both management and employees. Once AMES receives an enquiry from the private or public sector, members of the English in the Workplace Unit meet with management to draw up a proposed program plan. Teaching staff are assigned to design a detailed course program. This usually involves: an analysis of the specific language of the workplace; an assessment of the language learning needs of participants; consultation with management regarding course details, timetabling and the final package.

There is a great variety in the courses which are prepared and presented. Some courses have very specific focus such as:

- i. safety awareness for machine operators
- ii. form filling for railway workers
- iii. hotel employee courses
- iv. courses for crane chasers (leading to certificate courses)
- v. plant operators' course.

Other courses focus primarily on improving basic verbal and written communication on the job. Many courses combine a specific focus with general language development. 'While the curriculum is based on the activities, functions and terminology of the workplace, most learners also find a general improvement in the language they use outside work'. (ibid:6)

The uniqueness of the English in the Workplace program is that it stresses that communication is a two-way process. In order for the program to be effective, supervisors and fellow workers need to be made aware of the difficulties a person experiences in learning a new language and the importance of reinforcing the language learnt by the workers attending the classes.

Thus, in addition to courses for migrant workers, short programs are also designed for native speakers working with, or directly supervising, non-native speakers. The sessions address the issues associated with communication breakdown, including native speakers' use of English, language learning processes, cross-cultural factors and practical suggestions for ways of improving communication both on the job and in informal contacts.

Participants in the program have observed that there have been significant improvements in productivity, safety, industrial relations and human resource planning. Participating organisations include Government

departments and statutory authorities such as: State Rail Authority of NSW, Telecom Australia, Department of Defence Support, Sydney Water Board. Private companies include: Australian Iron and Steel (Wollongong), James Hardie, Hilton Hotels (Aust.), Ford Australia, Visy Board. Community and voluntary organisations are: Burnside Homes and the Australian Chinese Community Association.

Ford Australia, for example, has over 60 nationalities among its employees. Since classes started in 1982, about 40 people, mainly foremen and supervisory staff, have completed the course. The company at this stage concentrates on supervisory staff because it is very difficult to involve them in any formal job training when their English is not up to standard and they are of prime importance as a link between management and the line operators. The company hopes that it can soon start courses for assembly-line workers. (Vondra, 1983:2)

An announcement by the Premier of NSW on 4th March, 1985, has widespread implications for the development of the English in the Workplace program. The announcement stated that 'English on-the-job training will be extended to all public sector areas over a four year period from 1985-1989'[15]. Furthermore, a minimum of 50 to 60 hours of on the job training per individual would be offered within the four year period. This innovative step by the NSW Government is clearly in keeping with the Equal Opportunity Legislation of the 1980 Anti-Discrimination (Amendment) Act.

Language Services and Other Programs

The NSW Department of TAFE is the largest provider of adult education opportunities in New South Wales with over 350,000 students participating in 900 courses[16]. For TAFE, adult education includes all post-secondary educational and training programs, both formal and non-formal. Because of its size and distribution, TAFE is an immediate contact point for newly arrived migrants and students of non-English speaking background[17].

It is difficult to estimate how many persons of non-English-speaking background are participating in TAFE courses in general because the enrolment form, to date, has not included questions concerning language, country of birth and year of arrival (Caldwell, R. et al., 1984:8). In 1983, for example, 29,604 students responded to the question whether the language spoken most commonly at home was 'English or other', thus indicating they were of non-English-speaking background. However, a further 25,265 students did not answer the question and it is reasonable to conclude that there is a possibility that a percentage of these may have been of non-English-speaking background.

After AMES, TAFE is the largest supplier of English language classes for migrants with readily accessible courses available both during the day and evening at its major colleges.

Special English and Other ESL Programs

Special English courses within TAFE's School of General Studies are offered at several colleges. These cater for persons of a non-English-speaking background with different levels of fluency, who wish to become proficient in speaking, reading and writing English or for those who require extra tuition in English and in Australian history and culture for Higher School Certificate[18] examination purposes.

Classes usually start at intermediate level and continue through advanced stages. They are appropriate for students who have completed AMES courses, who have undertaken study of English overseas, or who in general could be seen as having an English language proficiency of 2+ on the ALSPR scale[19].

Classes are of 12 weeks duration with the opportunity of progressing to additional courses until the advanced level is completed. On completion of the advanced course, students are advised to consult course information officers or TAFE counsellors about appropriate further study. For instance, students may be particularly interested in general education courses or a course in the ESP program.

Other ESL programs offered within the School of General Studies include:

- Spoken English as a Second Language
- CAM (Commonwealth Accelerated English for Migrants)
- On Arrival Course (Newcastle TAFE only)
- Special English Correspondence Course
- Tutorial English
- English and Clerical Skills for Migrants
- Adult Literacy Programs
- Individual Learning Centres

In 1983 there were 7,268 students enrolled in Special English alone with a small number of students enrolled in other ESL courses. Although this figure seems reasonable enough, on closer analysis there is cause for concern.

If the total enrolment figure for AMES in NSW from 1983-1984 is 50,735 and this figure represents the beginner to intermediate student, or up to level 2+ on the ASLPR, then questions remain to be answered concerning:

- i. the great disparity in the total enrolment figures between AMES and TAFE;
- ii. the mechanism for flow-on of students from one provider to another.

Although it is true that TAFE is not the only provider of ESL courses from intermediate to advanced level in the State, it is by far the largest provider and therefore the question of access arises. It is also reasonable to assume that some students may enter general education courses at TAFE after completing AMES courses although the actual numbers are not clear. Finally, the enrolment of approximately 2,000 students in ESP (or English for Specific Purpose) programs in TAFE would indicate that some of the students are coming from AMES classes, as the prerequisite for entry to such courses is intermediate level English or ASLPR 2+.

It would therefore appear that there is a very poor flow-on to Special English classes in TAFE colleges by students who have completed their AMES courses up to intermediate level. The reasons for this lack of continuity need careful investigation. There appears to be a breakdown in the channel of communication between AMES and TAFE over this matter, with very serious consequences for students.

As the question of access to further English courses or other studies is a crucial one, it is apparent that a mechanism or formal procedure needs to be set up so that students who complete AMES courses to level 2+ ASLPR are tested and placed in appropriate TAFE ESP or Special English classes. In the provision of English language programs for migrants where the levels of English being presented by the separate providers are clearly progressive from beginner, intermediate to advanced level courses, it is in the interest of the providers to co-operate to ensure a single mechanism for student flow-on.

Although such a mechanism may be operating on an informal or ad hoc basis now, TAFE's low enrolment figures in Special English courses which are available at local colleges on demand, lead to the conclusion that this flow-on mechanism from AMES courses to TAFE courses needs to be formalised. The positive benefits of formal mechanism between the two providers of ESL would be that students would be able to move relatively easily from AMES to TAFE English language classes and thus access would be assured.

TAFE Multicultural Education Unit

Perhaps the most significant recent development in the area of adult education for persons of a non-English-speaking background has been the launching of TAFE's Multicultural Education Policy in July 1983 and the setting up of a Multicultural Education Unit within TAFE to co-ordinate the development of multicultural education and ongoing policy review.

The Multicultural Education Policy statement is an enlightening and comprehensive document which covers not only the principle of multiculturalism in depth, but also outlines a detailed list of strategies for the implementation of such a policy throughout TAFE in an itemised list of recommendations. Included in the policy statement are the teaching of community languages and English as a second language, the overcoming of barriers to access that migrants might encounter, the changes necessary to teacher education and staff development and the implications for recruitment.

One of the aims of the policy is the expansion of equal educational opportunities for people of a non-English speaking background. Such an aim can only be met by the removal of barriers to access to all TAFE programs and services as well as by the provision of special programs and services to cater for the needs and interests of people of non-English-speaking background.

The basic responsibility for facilitating the implementation of the Multicultural Education Policy throughout TAFE rests with the newly established Multicultural Education Unit. However, each college, school or section within TAFE is responsible for the manner in which it responds to the specific educational needs of persons of a non-English-speaking background and the provision of equity of access for such persons.

To date the Multicultural Education Unit has concentrated its efforts in the following areas:

- i. the organisation and co-ordination of the ESP Program throughout TAFE colleges.
- ii. By means of a report on the development of community language study options within TAFE, to develop a framework for implementation on the relevant recommendations in the TAFE Multicultural Policy Statement.
- iii. The development and evaluation of bilingual and multi-lingual methods of teaching in TAFE as a procedure for making the Department more accessible to people of non-English speaking background. A project officer is currently in the process of preparing a report on this matter.
- iv. Staff development programs which aim to sensitise staff within TAFE colleges to the special needs of students of non-English-speaking background.

The English for Specific Purposes Program or ESP

Since 1983 ESP courses have been offered in various TAFE colleges throughout the State in the following categories:

1. Refresher Courses
These are bridging courses for overseas trained persons in licenced occupations and other vocational areas such as:
 - English for Electricians
 - English for Medical and Paramedical Workers
 - Hairdressing Refresher

- ii. Introductory Vocational Courses
These courses improve access to trade, certificate, other vocational courses and/or employment such as:

English and Computer Literacy
English for Interpreting Purposes: Language
Aides Course
Introduction to Welding for Vietnamese

- iii. English for Further Studies
These courses are particularly aimed at persons of non-English speaking background who have completed secondary education in their own country but who have not the necessary skills to cope with further studies in Australia. In particular this course aims to:

Prepare students with correct and appropriate language skills for further education

Give students training and practice in a wide range of communication skills

Provide students with the ability to transfer their specialist subject skills from the native language to English.

- iv. Support to Existing Courses
These courses provide support for students from non-English-speaking background currently enrolled in TAFE vocational education programs such as:

Business English
English Tutorials in - Secretarial Studies
Hairdressing
Data Processing

- v. Job/Seeking Orientation
These courses are work/industry based or enhance students' job-seeking skills such as:

New opportunities for Women of Non-English Speaking
Background or the NOW Program
English for Work (Hospital Staff)
English for Hygiene in Food Handling
English for Restaurant Service (Chinese)

On surface appearances it would seem that these courses are meeting the needs of persons of non-English-speaking background. However, closer examination reveals some problems with the ESP programs as they are now offered:

1. There are approximately 2,000 persons of non-English-speaking background enrolled in ESP courses throughout the State[20].

However,

Every course offered in the English for Specific Purpose program is in heavy demand, with over a

hundred students applying for every 15-20 places, and the selection process must therefore be tightly organised (NSW TAFE Guidelines for Course Leaders, 1983:1)

The question arises as to what happens to the 75 to 80 persons who are not selected for each ESP course. What mechanism is there for ensuring that they make use of the other educational opportunities that are available not only within TAFE but also outside in the wider community? Can they reapply for consideration as an ESP Course participant in the future?

The Federal Government which funds the ESP program has given directions that the ESP courses be aimed at students who are at least 2+ on the ASLPR scale in all 4 skills of speaking, listening, reading and writing. AMES, on the other hand, has clear guidelines to instruct non-English-speaking background students in English language programs up to 2+ on the ASLPR scale or intermediate level.

If students leave AMES after having completed the highest English language program there and then fail to pass the selection procedure at TAFE for entry into the ESP programs, they may be left in a quandary, not knowing what to do next. What is required is an established mechanism in TAFE which assists in the placement of such unsuccessful students in appropriate educational courses wherever they may be, either within or outside TAFE.

This situation, with such limited numbers of students being selected for ESP courses and such large numbers being rejected, implies that these students should be encouraged to continue their ESL studies within TAFE, first and foremost.

TAFE, within its School of General Studies, offers many courses in Special English/Spoken English As a Second Language. These classes usually start at intermediate level and continue through to advanced stages. They are therefore appropriate for students who have completed AMES courses or who in general could be seen to have an English language proficiency in ASLPR 2+.

- ii. Some ESP courses, especially those related to the trade or mechanical fields which are only 12 or 18 weeks by 3 hours per week are too short. Courses need to be long enough to be of practical assistance to migrants in gaining recognition for their overseas qualifications. They should actually lead somewhere, that is, the student should be in a position to go to the appropriate licencing board for recognition of his/her trade certificate by the end of the course. The courses need to be evaluated to gauge how many students are in fact in a position to have their trade qualifications recognised by the licencing boards on completion of the course. Length of the course should be established after the evaluation takes place. It may be found for instance that 36 weeks or longer rather than the present 12 or 18 weeks, is appropriate for such courses.
- iii. ESP courses to date have not made use of bilingual instruction as a teaching methodology. Although the emphasis of the ESP program is on the mastering of advanced English which will assist

migrants to proceed to further studies, this approach is not inconsistent with the inclusion of some bilingual instruction in the program. For instance, the concept of team teaching is a most useful one, where the English language skills specialist can be assisted by a bilingual teacher to clarify abstract terms and complex terminology in the student's native language.

Languages Other Than English Within Further Education

Background

Contrary to the popular belief that Australia is a monolingual society, 'about eighty different immigrant languages as well as 150 Aboriginal languages are currently spoken in Australia' (Senate Standing Committee on Education and the Arts, Report on a National Language Policy, 1984:9) (See Appendix IX). European languages predominate, accounting for over two-thirds of the total non-English-speaking population. Italian, Greek, German and the languages of Yugoslavia are the most important. Chinese and Arabic are the most significant non-European languages. About 17 per cent of the Australian population aged five years or over first speak a language other than English (ibid:9)[21].

Until the mid 1970s there was little official government recognition of the existence of such a diversity of languages throughout Australia. These languages have been preserved and maintained largely through the development of a non-formal education network of community-based ethnic schools. Such schools, which teach the language and aspects of culture to school-age children outside normal school hours, have operated since as early as 1865 when the first Hebrew school was established in Brisbane (Norst, 1982).

Ethnic schools have usually been maintained by the community groups themselves. Although some State Governments have provided a measure of assistance since 1974, it was not until 1981 that the Commonwealth Government introduced a system of per capita grants for ethnic schools.

It is possible to distinguish three stages of development in the national perception of the usefulness of community languages in Australian social life[22]. At the first stage, the position is that community languages have a valid role to play in meeting the communication needs of those who have insufficient English. Prior to this, community languages had not been considered to have any role to play. The second stage is characterised by the belief that ethnic groups have a right to maintain their language and cultural traditions to pass on to their children. In Australia where the notion of linguistic rights is being expressed less aggressively than in the USA for example, there has been a demand from the ethnic communities for some assistance from public funds to maintain languages and cultures through such means as multilingual library services and ethnic media services, through support for ethnic schools, through increased community language teaching and through bilingual education (Australia. Dept of Education, 1982). The third stage of the acceptance of community language sees language as a valuable resource.

Increasingly the view is being put forward that many of the languages now used informally in the Australian community represent actual national resources in that they could serve to boost Australia's international credibility and effectiveness in the spheres of trade, development

assistance, diplomacy and cultural relations (Senate Standing Committee Report on a National Language Policy 1984: 126-127).

The Role of Language Learning and Current Trends within TAFE in Australia

The further education sector has a vital role to play in the community language learning field. In addition to meeting certain vocational training needs - such as those for interpreting - the sector provides access to languages learning for a wide range of people who, for a variety of reasons, do not wish to attend universities or colleges of advanced education, or are unable to do so.

TAFE caters for the whole of the adult population from 15 years to the end of life and its colleges and centres are firmly established in every community, with correspondence colliges to cater for isolated students.

(from a Submission of a group of language lecturers
in TAFE, WA (ibid: 178)

Submissions to the Senate Standing Committee's enquiry into the development and implementation of a co-ordinated language policy for Australia (1982-84) suggest that the further education sector has become increasingly active in language teaching in recent years (ibid:178). The submission from Technical and Further Education in Western Australia, for example, gave details of a well established Level II Interpreter program [23], a four-year certificate course in 'Fluency in a Foreign Language' with a 1982 enrolment of 1500 and also an extensive program of adult education 'conversation classes'. The Department of Technical and Further Education in South Australia also listed a range of language courses, some designed specifically for native speakers, some for non-native speakers, and a selection of vocational courses for both groups. Courses for native speakers include classes for those who can speak and understand their mother tongue but who need to improve their reading and writing skills. Classes for non-native speakers focus principally on teaching conversational skills. The vocational category includes Interpreter Level II courses and community language courses for professionals in practice or in training.

The outstanding feature of language learning courses in the further education sector is their informality and flexibility; there is an absence of formal assessment procedures for many courses; there appears to be a general willingness to adapt courses to the needs of students, and to introduce new courses where existing needs are not being met. Furthermore, in contrast to the tertiary sector, where the approach to language teaching is largely academic and based on literary studies, in the further education sector the approach is strongly practical in emphasis. Students attending courses in further education institutions are primarily interested in acquiring communication skills, and institutions seem generally to be aware of this priority and willing to respond to it. The South Australian Department of Technical and Further Education described its program of Languages for Professionals, for example, as:

60 hour [long]...courses [which are] designed to meet the specific needs of professionals who work with a large number of clients and/or patients from a single ethnic community, and [which] aim to equip the professionals with the language

skills and cultural awareness needed to communicate effectively at a basic level with their overseas born clients/patients.

Despite this generally encouraging picture, submissions to the Senate Standing Committee on Education and the Arts indicate that there are aspects of language learning provisions in further education institutions which need considerable improvement:

1. Resources and support services available to language teachers are in many cases inadequate.

There is not a wide range of commercially-produced materials for adults. Teachers in technical education are often forced to use courses designed for children, faute de mieux. In the minority language few if any materials are available.

- ii. There is a need for more adequate teacher training, and for specialist teachers and co-ordinators in the language field. The South Australian Department of Technical and Further Education observed:

Language programmes in each language teaching college are administered by Heads of General Studies, most of whom have little interest in them... Languages often remain, in spite of the efforts of the Language Programme Committee, cinderella subjects, with little regard for students, the quality of the teaching, of the meeting of very real demands.

- iii. Language courses tend to be compartmentalised within the TAFE structure. In addition to providing self-contained language courses, further education institutions should encourage collaboration between language departments and other vocational areas within the same institutions. The submissions of the Canberra College of Technical and Further Education recommended:

All students at TAFE Colleges preparing for a technical, para-professional or professional vocation should undertake as part of their qualifications at least a short course in a community language and culture,... and ... the community language and culture studies should be relevant to the practice of the particular trade, or profession. Such courses should include languages for special purposes, e.g. Italian for radiologists, French for catering Food Management Students, Vietnamese for child-care workers...

Developments of this kind are not widespread. Such an approach represents a means of providing language training of an immediately practical nature in vocational areas where it is likely to prove to be a valuable asset.

- iv. The greatest gap in TAFE at present is [in] the provision of vocational training programs in languages other than English where there is a demand from a clientele of non-English-speaking background. Although there are scattered and infrequent one-off initiatives, there is no systematic effort

to offer any regular vocational programs in languages other than English. As the South Australian Department of Technical and Further Education points out:

Yet the clustering of first generation immigrants in the unskilled and semi-skilled, technical areas, in the automotive and clothing and textile industries, and in the self-employed and employee categories is an obvious indication of the need for courses such as Automotive Techniques, Clothing and Footwear Certificates, Small Block Management, Small Business Management, to be offered in at least Greek, Italian and Croatian/Serbian. Again, the child care certificate and other para-professional diplomas, could be offered bilingually (i.e. English and other tongue), for the many migrants who want to help their own communities but cannot because of lack of education and training.

(Senate Standing Committee Report on a National Language Policy, 1984:181).

Developments of this kind in the further education sector would be a means of imparting valuable employment skills as well as being an element in the broader language maintenance role which this sector can perform.

Community Language Programs Within NSW TAFE

In NSW there are 15 community languages currently being offered in 7 TAFE colleges, out of a total of 95 colleges within the State (Padilla, 1984:7). The languages being offered are: French, German, Italian, Greek, Serbian/Croatian, Maltese, Spanish, Russian, Arabic, Japanese, Indonesian, Cantonese, Mandarin and Vietnamese. Various programs are offered mainly within the Sydney metropolitan area. There are two exceptions: Newcastle, a city with a large steel industry and a sizable migrant population, offers French, German, Italian, Spanish and Indonesian at the local TAFE college; and Broken Hill, a long-established mining town in the far-west of NSW with very few inhabitants of a non-English-speaking background, offers Italian and Greek at its TAFE college.

On the surface this provision of community languages seems impressive enough. However, when a comparison with South Australian TAFE colleges is made, there appears to be a shortfall in the NSW provision. In South Australia there are 14 community languages offered by 20 TAFE colleges out of a total of 28 colleges in the State. One explanation for the broader range of college provision in South Australia may be that it was not until 1980 that community language provision was regionalised in NSW. Until then all language instruction occurred at one centre, namely Sydney Technical College.

In addition to the above programs, an Interpreter Level II course is offered at Sydney Technical College for persons who are fluent in both English and another community language, and who wish to acquire interpreting skills for use in their employment. The languages in which the course is offered are Polish, Vietnamese and Cantonese.

The recent study of Community Languages in TAFE carried out under the direction of the TAFE Multicultural Unit concluded that:

the extent of present offerings suggests that TAFE is neither realising its full potential, nor reaching its potential community (ibid:7)

Some of the main reasons for this were listed as follows:

- i. Colleges have not demonstrated that they are in touch with the ethnic composition of their community. This can largely be explained by the minimal or often non-existent reflection amongst college staff of the ethnic communities surrounding a college.
- ii. The lack of awareness at college level of TAFE's commitment to a Multicultural Education Policy. Staff development seminars might help to bridge the gap.
- iii. The question of funding. Although widescale provision of community language programs throughout TAFE colleges will undoubtedly require an increase in financial resources, there is also the need for a reallocation of present funds according to a reassessment of priorities and acknowledgement of identified needs.
- iv. Lack of flexibility in content, duration and timetabling of present community language offerings.
- v. Lack of publicity. Unless widespread publicity via multilingual channels is employed by colleges, there will be no clear means of assessing the demand for community languages.
- vi. In spite of community demand and repeated requests for specific courses, the following languages are not being offered at TAFE colleges: Polish, Turkish, Portuguese and Macedonian.

It is important to keep in mind that the introduction of additional community language programs into TAFE colleges is also impeded by problems outside TAFE's immediate responsibility. First, the availability of qualified teachers in the community languages themselves. The tertiary education sector, namely the universities and colleges of advanced education (CAEs), is involved in the preparation of language specialists. Unfortunately the range of community language options in universities and CAEs is limited. Furthermore, although there are many language specialists with overseas qualifications amongst the ethnic communities in Australia, there are few, if any, bridging courses which could assist in obtaining recognition for these qualifications. It is hoped that courses such as the Level III interpreting course, the Bachelor of Arts in Interpreting and Translating, which began in 1985 at the Macarthur Institute of Higher Education, will be a step towards alleviating the shortage of qualified community language instructors in TAFE colleges.

A second factor which needs to be considered is that the level of interest and demand for community language study in TAFE or any post-secondary institution will depend to a large extent on the relevant background which students bring from their primary and secondary schooling. Bearing in mind that provision for secondary schooling in many community languages has

only been available since 1977,[24] it will be some time before TAFE receives a steady flow of students with community language learning background.

A factor which affects the extension of community languages studied at the Level II Interpreter course in TAFE is the literacy level of prospective candidates in both English and their native language. Unfortunately, this often affects the availability of provision for those community languages most in demand, such as Macedonian. What is needed is for TAFE to provide special literacy courses in both English and certain community languages as basic preparation for entry into the Level II Interpreter course where there is a large number of candidates who cannot meet the entry requirements.

Bilingual Methods of Teaching in NSW TAFE

The term bilingual education can be used to describe a number of different approaches which involve the use of two languages as the media of instruction. Under a transitional bilingual program, for example, literacy is first taught in the mother tongue. As the second language is introduced, instruction in the mother tongue is phased out. In maintenance bilingual programs, the mother tongue continues to be used for instruction even after a second language is introduced.

Bilingual vocational education is regarded as a radical and possibly unworkable idea by many educators in Australia. In the United States bilingual education has been institutionalised since the Bilingual Education Act of 1968, which authorised funding for bilingual programs conducted by accredited trade, vocational and technical schools to meet the needs of students with limited English proficiency (Wagner, 1984:1).

However, the experience of transitional bilingualism in the United States has not always been a fortunate one. There are plenty of examples of such bilingual programs resulting in the loss of the first language when the status of the first language within the community was not as high as that of the second (Senate Standing Committee Report On A National Language Policy. 1984:58).

In TAFE, bilingual instruction refers to courses in which a language other than English is used as a medium of instruction in conjunction with English, though not necessarily in the same lesson. As the students' competence in English increases, they and their teachers tend to consider the need for providing bilingual instruction to diminish. Students who attained a certain fluency in English are considered to benefit more from tutorial sessions conducted partially or completely in their first language than by continued systematic use of their first language as a means of instruction (Wagner, 1984:2).

A recent study of bilingual education programs in TAFE has shown that bilingual methodology has not been used to any large extent within mainstream TAFE courses (ibid: 2.3). Current bilingual initiatives tend to be implemented through short-lived funding programs such as English for Specific Purposes (ESP), Outreach, Participation and Equity Program (PEP) and TAFEC Access grants.[25] Each of these funding systems is limited by guidelines which preclude ongoing responsibility for the provision of such courses.

Transitional vocational bilingual courses need to be developed in TAFE to meet the needs of people whose first language is not English by means of:

- i. conversion courses for those who have overseas qualifications in areas which fall within TAFE's vocational provision;
- ii. vocational access courses for those who do not have qualifications but wish to join mainstream TAFE vocational courses (ibid:3)

Both conversion and vocational access courses for people who speak little or no English would use the students' first language to help them simultaneously to acquire both the knowledge, skills and the English language they would require to function adequately at work or in a mainstream course of their choosing. A number of problems would have to be overcome for such courses to be successful. For example, in trade courses at present there is little or no provision for older persons to gain entry through standard channels.

In addition to bilingual vocational courses, the future development in TAFE of bilingual ESL, ESP, life skills health and self-development courses needs to be investigated. As an institution of further, as well as technical, education TAFE should assess its responsibility for providing bilingual courses meeting the particular needs of the aged, of people not seeking employment or those whose education has been irregular and interrupted.

TAFE Program Innovations: Outreach and the NOW Program

TAFE's Outreach Project, which commenced in 1976, caters for people who find participation in further education difficult or intimidating for various reasons such as language problems, responsibility for young children, age, poor health, lack of confidence, geographical isolation or educational disadvantage (NSW TAFE Handbook, 1984:27).

Outreach is unique in that it is a genuine needs-based educational program. Every effort is made, through close links with the community, to establish the real needs of people in the area and to provide educational programs which meet these needs. Classes are held in convenient, familiar places. Programs are flexible in location, timetabling, course content and methods of instruction. Bilingual instruction is frequently employed.

Classes are held in private homes, community centres, nursing homes, schools, church halls and other suitable locations. Child-minding facilities are available. Participants decide what they want to learn and help to plan the courses in consultation with the teachers and Outreach staff. They are also involved in the implementation and evaluation of the program.

Courses vary in length from 12 to 108 hours. Day rather than evening courses are generally preferred. Some courses are suitable for people who wish to improve their communication skills, their job performance or their ability to enter the job market. Some teach various practical skills. Other familiarise persons of a non-English-speaking background with practical aspects of life in Australia, or seek to improve cross-cultural communication.

Persons of non-English-speaking background are able to participate in any of the courses offered. However, they generally tend to prefer the following types of Outreach programs:

1. The Learning of Basic English Language Skills. The major aim of this program is to develop confidence and motivation in students to take advantage of other community and educational resources. Often a bilingual teacher is used, especially if students are not literate in their own language, or are newly-arrived or aged. Courses are frequently combined with some other activity such as craft or dressmaking.
11. Specific Purpose English Programs (e.g. Trades English, English for Study Purposes), and English classes for advanced students whose needs are not otherwise being met (e.g. Issues in Australian Society for Vietnamese).

During 1983, 14 Outreach centres throughout the State implemented programs for almost 15,000 students. It is difficult to indicate the percentage of non-English-speaking background persons in these programs because the statistics do not include this breakdown. However, the preparation of programs specifically for migrants was 17.8% (NSW TAFE, Outreach. 1984:4).

Although the above is a reasonable figure, it does indicate that there is room for improvement, especially when in the general population more than 25% of persons are of non-English-speaking background and in some regions, such as Wollongong, the figure is as high as 32%.

What is needed is greater flexibility in the use of the 47,000 hours allotted to the employing of teaching staff for Outreach programs. In order to reach new migrant groups in the community, temporary assistant bilingual co-ordinators need to be appointed for short-term periods of perhaps 6 months to work with specific language groups in the community who have not had the opportunity to participate in the Outreach program.

Further links need to be set up with on-going mainstream TAFE courses. With some Outreach programs which are preparatory in orientation, the question of accreditation arises when the student continues the subject in mainstream TAFE classes. If students were informed that a particular Outreach course would be considered as the 'first step' to a mainstream TAFE course, this acknowledgement would provide an incentive for some students to proceed to mainstream TAFE courses.

The question of what happens to Outreach participants after they have finished their maximum of 108 hours of an Outreach program is a disconcerting one. Not all participants feel that they have completed a 'program' or that they are ready to change their situation and do something else. Although it is reasonable that as a general rule a maximum number of hours be adhered to in what are basically preparatory or education awareness-raising courses, a certain amount of flexibility would be more practical. The total hours given to all programs could be used more constructively if they were dependent on the needs of the groups, rather than an arbitrary figure of 108 hours. (This was discussed in the Vietnamese Seminar. See below, Chapter 10)

The NOW Program (New Opportunities for Women) is a special re-entry program for women over 25 years of age. The course is designed especially for women who need to increase their levels of confidence, experience and skills in order to enter or re-enter vocational training or the workforce. It also introduces women to a broader range of choices in work and training, including traditionally male areas of work such as electronics, engineering, drafting and the computer industry, where employment prospects are good. Although no qualifications are needed to join an NOW course, in order to have the language proficiency to cope with the course, students need to have a minimum English language proficiency of level 2+ on the ASLPR scale.

The NOW course has 3 major components: practical introduction to non-traditional work areas; technical skills; and communication skills. Courses are 18 weeks in duration, from 10 am to 2.30 pm, 4 days a week. Child care facilities are available.

Such courses are a very important means of providing access to adult education for women of non-English-speaking background. The first courses for women of a non-English-speaking background were offered by TAFE in 1984. The basic NOW Program is followed, with an emphasis on language. ESL strategies are integrated into all subjects and thus the course has an ESP (English for Specific Purposes) orientation. Approximately 20% of participants in 1984 were women of a non-English-speaking background. Although this is a good beginning, clearly the proportion of non-English-speaking background women participating in the program needs to be increased.

Continuing Education Provision in ESL and Community Languages in NSW

The term continuing education is generally applied by the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission [26] to those teaching activities in universities and colleges of advanced education which do not lead to formal awards. These activities are sometimes referred to by the institutions as adult education, community education or extension studies.

In its 1982 survey of continuing education and non-credit programs in universities and colleges of advanced education in New South Wales, the Board of Adult Education[27] found that it was difficult to obtain accurate data on the extent of client participation in continuing education. The main reason for this was the fact that institutions varied greatly in their keeping of enrolment records: some kept very accurate data, while in many cases data appeared to be unavailable or of an uncertain nature.

However, in spite of the difficulty in obtaining accurate data on participation rates, the Board estimates that:

there are some 40,000 to 50,000 persons per year now enrolling in continuing education courses in New South Wales universities and colleges of advanced education (NSW Board of Adult Education, 1983:6).

It is not possible to gauge the participation rates of persons of a non-English-speaking background because of the unavailability of accurate data. Nonetheless, an examination of the adult education programs offered by tertiary institutions in the State reveals that some universities and colleges of advanced education are offering courses which are attractive to non-English-speaking background clients in particular. These courses are:

- i. ESL Programs: these range from short, intensive full-time courses to year long, part-time programs;
- ii. An Interpreting and Translation program: this course is for fully bilingual persons; preference is given to those who are working in a situation where there is opportunity for interpreting;
- iii. Conference Interpreting: these train fully bilingual persons in consecutive and simultaneous interpreting techniques;
- iv. Community language programs: these attract, among others, second generation migrants who have not had the opportunity to study the language spoken at home.

Facilitating Access to Higher Education and the Professions

Recently there has been public debate concerning the poor representation of students from disadvantaged backgrounds, including Aborigines and

immigrants in tertiary institutions. It was announced on 9th March 1985 that a top-level committee would be set up by the Senate of Sydney University to look at possible ways of opening up the university to more students from disadvantaged backgrounds. Among the several alternatives expected to be considered by the committee are the possibility of doing away with the Higher School Certificate as the sole criterion for entry, and the setting aside of more places for specific groups in the community. However there is no intention of lowering the standards needed for entry.[28]

There are practical measures which tertiary institutions could take to facilitate access to higher education and the professions for persons of a non-English-speaking background.

First, the provision of pre-tertiary preparation courses which could provide the opportunity of gaining access to tertiary education for:

- i. Students of a non-English-speaking background who have had difficulties with specific subject areas in the secondary school system. They could 'catch-up' on the basic knowledge (in English, Mathematics and Science, for example) which is essential to cope with course work in tertiary institutions;
- ii. Recently arrived migrants and refugees who have completed secondary education in the home country and need to update their knowledge and skills to gain entry into tertiary institutions.

Secondly, there is an urgent need for tertiary institutions to provide re-orientation or bridging and refresher courses for overseas qualified professionals who are attempting to gain recognition for their qualifications in Australia.

Although the dimensions of the problem of the inability to gain recognition of the overseas qualifications by migrants and refugees are hard to measure:

the available evidence suggests that in some categories of intake, the incident of such cases may be as high as 60 per cent. (Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Recognition of Overseas Qualifications, 1983:56).

The Council on Overseas Professional Qualifications (COPQ) which has been in existence since 1969, has reported constantly on the need for bridging courses as a means of facilitating entry to professions by those trained overseas who are not able to obtain immediate recognition of their qualifications.[29]

In December 1981, the Commonwealth Government set up a Committee of Inquiry into the Recognition of Overseas Qualifications in Australia. The Committee found that:

there are a number of organisations trying to assist immigrants and refugees by taking the initiative in organising re-orientation courses where special needs arise. ... However, it has been brought to the Committee's attention that there is little financial support available to organisations trying to take the initiative (ibid:134).

Examples brought to the Committee's notice were programs provided by individual hospitals, or medical schools, such as the special intensive language course for refugee medical students at the University of Sydney.

It appears that at present no single organisation or department is prepared to accept responsibility for co-ordinating the training and assistance required by foreign graduates and students ... Accordingly ... until a co-ordinated programme is available, a source of special funding (should) be set up (ibid:134).[30]

The Committee recommended in its Report that supplementary funds be made available by the Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs and the Minister for Employment and Industrial Relations to provide assistance, where needs are identified, for the short-term funding of special projects initiated by any private or public body aimed at assisting the re-orientation of immigrants and refugees.

Community Languages in Universities and CAEs

It is noteworthy that although some thirty languages are now offered in Australian universities, three languages (French, German and Italian) account for 59 per cent of all language students in 1980. If Japanese, Indonesian, Chinese and Modern Greek are taken into account, these seven languages accounted for 82 per cent of all language students in Australian universities. Eight languages not previously taught in universities were introduced from 1974 to 1982, although enrolments in them have been small (Senate Standing Committee Report On A National Language Policy:168).

In the period 1982 to 1984, as a result of the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs' Review of Multicultural and Migrant Education, provision was made by CTEC for eight recurrent grants of \$50,000 each for the establishment of courses in community languages and culture in universities. In particular, these grants were to overcome the under-representation of certain community languages already taught and to introduce community languages not yet taught in any university. There remains, however, a number of community languages spoken by significant ethnic groups within Australian society which are offered at matriculation level but which are not available for study at any Australian university.

Enrolments in community languages in colleges of advanced education increased by 57 per cent in the period from 1975 to 1980. As a proportion of total enrolments however, language student numbers are very small. In 1981, for example, the proportion was 1 per cent. In universities in the same year 7 per cent of students were enrolled in language courses. Seventeen languages are taught in colleges of advanced education, with the largest enrolments being in Italian, Modern Greek, Indonesian, Japanese, German and French (ibid:168).

Some expansion in community language teaching has been stimulated by a number of "seeding grants" provided as a result of the review by the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs referred to above.

The Senate Standing Committee's Report On A National Language Policy in October 1984 indicates that there was strong criticism from some quarters that:

Most university foreign language departments focus primarily on study of literature and not on developing their students' communicative competence for use in the market place, in the consulting room or in the public service (ibid:171).[31]

However, many universities presented a different view, claiming that their approach to language teaching has undergone considerable changes over the past decade. The concept of culture has been broadened so that in addition to works of literature it includes topics such as politics, social and economic issues, the media and film. The teaching in colleges of advanced education has been a more recent development and has from the outset involved a strong vocational orientation. In general the approach which tends to characterise the teaching of a language in colleges of advanced education is one which stresses practical communication skills, together with an understanding of a range of different aspects of associated culture.

Teacher Education in Teaching English As A Second Language (TESL)

During the past ten years ESL teaching has been a major growth area within the teaching profession in Australia and many ESL teachers have been trained. However, according to the recent Senate Standing Committee's Report On A National Language Policy, evidence suggests that there is a shortage of ESL specialists within Australia, especially of properly trained teachers of adults. The NSW Higher Education Board told the Committee that only a few teachers employed by AMES have been able to take a course tailored to their needs. The only prerequisite necessary for appointment to AMES is that a person be a qualified teacher. The Committee is aware of only six institutions offering pre-service training for ESL teachers of adults: the South Australian, Sydney and Brisbane Colleges of Advanced Education offer graduate diplomas and Sydney University and the University of Queensland offer ESL units in their Diplomas of Education. The Darwin Community College offers a certificate course for ESL teachers of adults (ibid: 53).

Although the evidence points to a clear need to increase the pre-service training opportunities for ESL specialists, the provision of such training is currently constrained by a lack of ESL teacher educators. The Committee considered first there was an urgent need to train more ESL teacher educators and recommended that the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission, the State Higher Education Boards and institutions of higher learning, urgently explore ways of providing more training opportunities for ESL teacher educators (ibid: 55).

A. For Persons of a Non-English Speaking Background

Adult education programs which enrich the knowledge of persons of non-English-speaking background have traditionally largely concentrated on ESL or community language programs. A major innovation was the introduction of the bilingual information component on Australian society to the On-Arrival Education Program in 1980. The 20 information sessions cover the following aspects: immigration, personal and family identification, geography of Australia, employment, housing, health, shopping, education, welfare services, money management, communication and transport, community services, motoring, law insurance, safety, recreation and entertainment, government, social behaviour and religion (AIMA, Evaluation, 1982: 46).

A study carried out on behalf of the NSW Board of Adult Education in 1984 reported that the low participation rates of persons of a non-English-speaking background in continuing education programs cannot be explained by concluding that migrants are simply apathetic and not interested in such programs (Rudnik, 1984: 90). Rather, lack of information concerning the provision of continuing education programs is the greatest barrier to access. What is required is for the Board of Adult Education and adult education providers to inform persons of non-English-speaking background of what is available in the field of adult education by means of a multilingual publicity through the ethnic media. Only then can the actual interest or demand for adult education provision be gauged.

TAFEC Grants for Non-Formal Community-based Education

TAFEC grants to voluntary, non-government organisations are a unique way of providing enrichment of knowledge for persons of non-English speaking background in NSW. The grants of the Commonwealth Technical and Further Education Commission are administered by the NSW Board of Adult Education. The aim of the grants is to widen the access to adult education programs for people traditionally under-represented in institutional provision. The grants are viewed as a vehicle by which people, who for a range of reasons have not participated in post-school education, can do so in a non-formal, community-based setting. The underlying assumption is that the skills and self-confidence gained in attending programs in such a familiar environment, will lead to the desire to participate in mainstream adult education provision.

The participants to a large extent are:

- shift workers
- mothers with pre-school children
- elderly people
- people with low English language proficiency
- people who lack oral and numeracy skills
- people without means of private transport
- people who lack confidence in themselves and
in institutions to meet their learning needs

Such people tend to have life circumstances which present barriers to gaining access to mainstream adult education programs. Although these barriers cannot be easily overcome by short-term adult education courses provided by community-based agencies, they are nevertheless an important beginning to opening up access to adult education for certain groups in the community.

The types of adult education programs supported by TAFEC grants vary greatly. Included in this range are: English language training, traditional crafts, dressmaking, literacy in first language, personal development and health issues such as repetitive strain injuries.

However, programs funded should meet needs which cannot be met by the established adult education providers such as TAFE, evening colleges or other government providers.

Since 1980 The Federation of Italian Migrant Workers and Their Families (FILEF) in Sydney has been in receipt of TAFEC grants. The types of courses funded are an indication of the enrichment of knowledge that can be provided for persons of non-English-speaking background through community-based programs.

The aims of FILEF's cultural committee which organised the courses, are to promote traditional and modern Italian culture in Australia for the Italian, migrant and Anglo-Australian communities and to be a catalyst in the development of an Italo-Australian culture.

All FILEF centres in Australia have their own cultural groups

which involve particularly young second generation Italians. The aim of these cultural groups is to allow second-generation Italians and their parents to gain a better knowledge of their own culture of origin, and to creatively contribute to the cultural and social development of Australia as a multi-cultural society. The activities of these groups include: courses in Italian language, history, political and social movements, economics; organisation of concerts; of music and theatre groups..., showing of films, discussions, organisation of activities which aim to involve young people and develop their own self-confidence and abilities, and activities which involve and develop the community at large[32].

The following continuing education courses funded by TAFEC grants, have been presented by FILEF since 1980:

- i. Literacy Through History: beginners literacy course in the Italian language on Italo-Australian cultural issues
- ii. Developing Skills in Spoken and Written Italian: aims especially to develop language skills of second generation Italians
- iii. Elementary Economics
- iv. Language, Dialect and the Development of Austral-Italian
- v. The History of the Australian Trade Union Movement

- vi. Italian Through the History of Italy: intermediate level course
- vii. The Language of Government, Politics and Trade Unions (in English)
- viii. History, Achievement and Perspectives of the Italian Women's Movement (in Italian)

Adult education providers need to review their approach to using English as the only method of instruction in continuing education programs in a multicultural society in light of the following:

The [FILEF Cultural] Committee feels that the work it initiated, that is, the provision of courses in which the Italian language is the medium for instruction (and not only for 'language' courses but also for general education courses such as in Economics, History and so on) is an important step in the direction of providing education for adults in our community who could not follow similar courses conducted in English. This is important because it helps break the situation of cultural stagnation and isolation in which many adult migrants find themselves[33].

B. For Persons of Anglo-Celtic Background

The Role of Tertiary Institutions

It is of critical importance to a multicultural society that tertiary institutions incorporate multicultural perspectives into their curricula. Tertiary education provides the parameters within which intellectual discourse takes place. Its teaching and research functions are a major mode of recognising, maintaining and developing cultural values. The graduates of the system provide essential services to society and contribute to the formulation and implementation of public policies. They play a significant part in forming public opinion and they educate the teachers of Australian children. Without the active participation of the tertiary education sector, the pursuit of multicultural goals will be limited (AIMA, Evaluation 1982: 129).

The Institute of Multicultural Affairs' Review of Multicultural and Migrant Education in 1980 found that little progress has been made in adequately preparing students training for specific professions and vocations with the skills and knowledge needed for practising in a multicultural society. While teacher education institutions had responded to a greater degree than other professions, developments in the area were uneven, isolated and concentrated in particular fields and institutions. The penetration of multicultural perspectives into the general training of all teachers had been limited, with the majority of teaching units being electives, aimed at teachers who had already obtained the basic teaching degree of diploma. A total of 18 tertiary institutions were identified as offering awards specifically oriented towards aspects of multicultural education, the majority of awards being in teacher education(ibid: 130).

In the professional and vocational areas of law, medicine, health services and social welfare, the Review observed that while developments had occurred in specific institutions and departments, the response of tertiary institutions in these fields had been limited and uneven.

Developments in courses of a generalist nature have been exceedingly limited. Fields of study which have as their objective the teaching of knowledge through which to understand society in general and Australian society in particular - politics, sociology, history and culture - have tended to lag behind developments in more applied disciplines.

In view of the slowness of tertiary institutions in responding to the changes that have taken place in Australian society's ethnic and cultural character over the past 30 years, the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs in its Evaluation of Post-Arrival Programs and Services in 1982 recommended that:

The Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission should pursue with tertiary institutions steps to ensure that multicultural perspectives and components are introduced into tertiary courses (AIMA, 1982: 133)

However, because education is traditionally a responsibility of the States, and because universities formally and traditionally have a high degree of autonomy in a period of stable funding such as the present CTEC sees itself as exercising its influence at the margin. It is hoped that with the constant encouragement of CTEC "over a period of years this approach can bring about significant change in the total pattern of tertiary education" (ibid: 132).

Cultural Awareness and Professionals

If equality of access to services in the community is to be achieved, practising professionals in social contact fields such as health, law, and social work need to be made aware of the cultural diversity within our society and the difficulties and needs of persons of non-English-speaking background. This can be achieved by adult education programs such as:

- i. Cross-cultural awareness courses which indicate aspects culture and behaviour of persons of non-English-speaking background.
- ii. Survival community language training which can be very useful for professionals and paraprofessionals working in the medical or welfare field for example.

The tertiary education sector has a role to play in the provision of such courses. Unfortunately in 1985 no Commonwealth funds are allocated to tertiary institutions for such programs.

In 1984, as in the previous year, \$195,000 was allocated to eight specific professional organisations by the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission to develop materials for use in continuing education programs for their members. The materials developed are to be made available nationally to professional bodies, tertiary institutions and individual professionals. Some examples of the institutions receiving the grants are: the Leo Cussen Institute for Continuing Legal Education in Victoria in conjunction with the College of Law; the Committee in Postgraduate Medical Education - the University of NSW; the Institute of Chartered Accountants in conjunction with the Australian Society of Accountants; the Dental Health Foundation of Australia; the Royal Australian College of General Practitioners (Victoria Faculty), in conjunction with the Postgraduate Federation of Medicine.

Previously, from 1979 to 1981, courses for professionals were held at a number of institutions, including universities and colleges of advanced education. The Galbally Recommendation 14 Evaluation Study concluded that initiatives taken had been worthwhile, although there had been some problems with the execution of the courses (Davis, 1982). At the end of 1981, approximately 162 courses had been completed throughout Australia involving over 3,200 participants at an expenditure of \$323,388.

Specifically, the Galbally 14 Recommendation was:

Professionals, including those studying and those currently in practice in areas with large migrant clienteles, should receive assistance in obtaining, or upgrading, language skills and understanding cultural differences. Consideration should be given to providing vocation-oriented language and cultural courses for these professionals (e.g. in the areas of education, health, welfare and the law) who are willing to undertake them, with appropriate living allowances. Full-time courses could be provided in university vacation periods (Galbally Report, 1978:51).

The Commonwealth Department of Education was given responsibility for the implementation of Recommendation 14. The Department established Planning Committees in all States and Territories, chaired by locally-based senior officers of the Department. These committees made recommendations to the Department in Canberra on the disbursement of funds, which were then paid directly to the body responsible for organising the courses. Institutions and bodies involved in organising courses included: universities, colleges of advanced education, teachers' colleges, professional organisations, state government immigration and health authorities, hospitals, churches and ethnic communities and organisations. Courses ranged from intensive and part-time language classes to general cultural sensitisation programs, covering a wide range of ethnic groups. Professional groups participating in the courses included medical practitioners, nurses, lawyers, physiotherapists, occupational therapists, teachers, school principals and deputies, clergy, health and welfare workers, public servants and management personnel.

The 3-month full-time intensive courses proposed by Recommendation 14 were not pursued. Professional bodies did not consider it financially or professionally feasible for self-employed professionals to attend such courses. Consequently, the Government endorsed a combination of part-time and full-time courses.

Interesting variations in program models were developed in the different States and Territories. In NSW the Planning Committee initially opted in 1979 for the provision of general introductory language courses to heterogeneous groups of professionals. Advertisements were placed in the Sydney Morning Herald and The Australian to gauge levels and direction of interest of relevant professionals in the education, health, law and welfare fields.

There were many disappointing factors concerning this model. Course organisers were pessimistic about what could reasonably be achieved in short-term, even full-time programs compared with the full-scale thoroughgoing acquisition of a foreign language over a minimum of 500 hours. The general language course for a heterogeneous student group with divergent professional needs meant that specific needs could not be

catered for in any differential way. Moreover, the courses did not attract professionals such as doctors, dentists and solicitors. In fact, there was criticism of the use of general daily newspapers as a medium for advertising courses, when selective advertising in relevant professional media would have been likely to have reached more of the spectrum (Davis, 1982: 134-6).

Consequently, the 1980 and 1981 programs were based on the cultural awareness model as a means of sensitising professionals to the problems caused by communication barriers rather than to attempt to give them any language to help reduce those barriers. Programs were mounted for groups of health professionals and for members of industries with high migrant employment figures. The latter was the only such initiative taken in Australia during the pilot phase of the program (1979-81) and revealed an area of great need.

However, this model also had its problems. One area of concern was the relative inability of programs to attract those at higher status levels in industry or other institutions, that is, the executive staff or decision-makers. Another was organising leave for the professionals to attend courses and ensuring consistency of attendance over the period of the course. It was generally felt that shorter, more concentrated courses over a two or three-day period would obviate this problem. The selection of professionals to attend such courses was also a potential problem in that course organisers felt that having one or two individuals from a host of different, even if related, departments was likely to dissipate the effect of cultural awareness and that it would be preferable to move in and work with a whole department or section of industry in a concerted way. This would also reduce the effect of 'preaching to the converted' which was an unavoidable reality under the present model employed.[34]

Finally, the Galbally Recommendation 14 Evaluation Study concluded that the effectiveness of cultural awareness courses in making professionals more aware, tolerant and supportive of their migrant clientele depended to a large extent on the content of the courses and the methodology used in presentation.

The content of the courses needs to include practical strategies by which professionals can handle difficulties they may encounter with their migrant clientele:

Over and over again participants expressed regret that they had come away with increased sympathy for migrant problems, but absolutely no real strategies for dealing with them (ibid: 145).

Even more importantly, the level of involvement of the professionals in the cultural awareness course cannot be stressed strongly enough.

If we are trying to teach not only information but also attitudes, on the assumption that people have very strong and emotional feelings about ethnic issues which will affect their response to information, then we must realise that we have not got very far in developing strategies for attitude change ... There are some techniques ... which have obvious potential. There is,

for instance, the confrontative, or the immersion technique which involves setting up a simulation experience (Liffman, 1982:16).

'Bafa Bafa' is a well known simulation exercise and 'Monolong'[35] has proven effective. These are designed to give participants some sort of experience of being in another culture, or being powerless, or not being able to communicate. They are all to a varying degree useful, require an understanding of group processes, and have their limitations. There are other more introspective approaches which require people really to examine their own attitudes, prejudices and perceptions; these usually require hard work and high motivation on the part of participants (Smart, 1981). There are 'on-the-job' approaches which relate training to people's day to day situations and ask them to explore these situations. Video tapes can be very useful here.

It is evident from the above discussion that although the language and cultural awareness courses which were presented as a response to Galbally Recommendation 14 between 1979 and 1981 had some serious problems to overcome, they were a positive and significant initiative in the provision of cultural information about their migrant clientele to certain groups of professionals. It is a great pity that the recommendation of the Evaluation Study that the program, with suggested improvements, should be funded for a further five years, has not been implemented by the Commonwealth Government.

While the present funds allocated to professional bodies for the development of cross-cultural materials for use in continuing education programs for their members could be a useful initiative in reaching certain selected groups, it lacks the breadth and focus of the earlier program and can in no way be regarded as a substitute. Furthermore, it is disconcerting to see that tertiary institutions - universities, colleges of advanced education and TAFE - which are responsible for the initial training of professionals and have widespread continuing education facilities, are in no way encouraged financially to participate in the present cultural awareness program for professionals. Their involvement would seem imperative for any large-scale education of professionals in a multicultural society to take place.

This chapter on adult education programs to improve the technical or professional qualifications of persons living in a multicultural society deals mainly with persons of a non-English-speaking background because it is assumed that they constitute the area of greatest need. For persons whose mother tongue is English, there are clearly defined educational procedures by which their technical or professional qualifications can be improved.

Obtaining Recognition for Overseas Professional and Trade Qualifications

In Australia, the problem of recognition of overseas qualifications is an extremely complex one. There are over 200 accreditation bodies, boards, authorities, universities, TAFE institutions, professional associations and unions, which are involved in the process of the recognising of overseas qualifications. Some assess the qualifications, but do not provide recognition or registration, such as the Council on Overseas Professional Qualifications (COPQ); others, such as universities and colleges of advanced education, assess qualifications for entry to their own courses only, and not for employment purposes, as does TAFE. Also, some trade qualifications are the responsibility of local Trades Committees, and others of the Apprenticeship Directorate of the State Department of Industrial Relations and Technology. Finally, there are the specific professional accrediting bodies which provide strict examination procedures for recognition in medicine, dentistry and the other professions.

Added to this complex accreditation structure are underlying factors such as: conflict between interests of the host community and the aspirations of new arrivals; the competing claims and lines of demarcation between unions, professions and trades; and genuine fears in some quarters over maintenance of standards of practice.

One of the requirements for the recognition of overseas qualifications is often passing an oral and/or written examination. The pass rate of these examinations is often very low. For instance, the pass rate in the medical examination is 18 per cent, and in the dental only 4 per cent (Kazemi, 1982: 4-7). The comments of the Ethnic Communities Council of NSW on this situation illustrate the problem:

We do not believe that the reason behind the high rate of failure is a lower educational standard in the countries of migrants' origin or evidence of professional incompetence of applicants. Rather it might be linked to a difficulty by the migrant to meet the five requirements for any person to pass a complex examination:

- i. knowledge of the syllabus
- ii. the knowledge of emphasis
- iii. the ability to absorb a large volume of information.
- iv. a reasonable degree of confidence.

- v. the preparedness of the examination committee or any other authority to pass the candidate with sufficient knowledge. (Ethnic Communities Council of NSW, 1982:9)

The problems are compounded by the following: many examinations lack guidelines to enable a candidate to be prepared; the emphasis in the theory of various disciplines varies from country to country; all candidates have been practitioners in their fields for some years and have moved far beyond the theoretical knowledge on which examinations are often based; there is considerable psychological pressure in the knowledge that candidates are only permitted a limited number of attempts at some examinations; there is a common belief among many of the migrant professionals and tradesmen that the examinations are designed to exclude as many candidates as possible (ibid:10).

Professional and trade bodies are understandably concerned about maintaining the highest standards possible. However, evidence from the past shows that the standards demanded of persons with overseas qualifications are not always the same as those demanded of the native population, and in some cases have been exceptionally high and unrealistic.

The Australian Medical Examining Council (AMEC), for example, established in 1978, until 1983 had an English language test which not only expected candidates to master the practical language, but also expected them to know about English literature. Furthermore, the test was part of the written medical examination, and only three attempts were allowed at the examination. Under strong pressure from the ethnic communities and as a result of the recommendations of the report of the Committee of Inquiry into The Recognition of Overseas Qualifications in Australia, last year AMEC relaxed its rules and redesigned and separated the English language test from the written medical examination. Now candidates are able to sit for this test as often as they wish and a failure to pass English is not counted against the candidate's three attempts at the written medical examination. The other problem was that the examination consisted of two other components: written and clinical. If the candidate failed in one, he or she had to repeat both. Only three attempts were allowed. AMEC has now relaxed this requirement so that a failure in the clinical examination does not require the candidate to repeat the written examination, and there is no limit on the number of attempts at the clinical examination.

Although the Galbally Report in 1978 suggested that 'relevant registration boards, tertiary institutions and professional bodies develop pre- and in-service training opportunities, in addition, or instead of, bridging courses to enable professionally qualified migrants to become recognised and employed', (Galbally Report, 1978:52), AIMA's Evaluation in 1982 found that little, if anything, had been done. Although COPQ has discussed the issue with a number of these bodies and while the idea has been endorsed in principle, the action taken has been limited. Few professional and registration bodies actually provide pre-service courses for migrant professionals, and few such courses are available in tertiary institutions (AIMA, Evaluation, 1982:128).

The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Recognition of Overseas Qualifications in December 1982 recommended that funds should be made

available by the Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs and the Minister for Employment and Industrial Relations to any private or public body for short-term special projects which assist the re-orientation of immigrants and refugees; and that the question of income support for immigrants and refugees studying to have their qualifications recognised be examined (Report on the Recognition of Overseas Qualifications, 1983:13).

For professions such as medicine and dentistry the Report recommended a co-ordinated, planned program of supervised practice in teaching hospitals throughout Australia to help the candidate prepare for their clinical examinations. Income support should be made available for candidates taking part in the supervised practice at a level equivalent to unemployment benefit, such support being made available in the form of a non-interest-bearing loan to be repaid within four years of registration (ibid: 21-22).

Implementation of these recommendations would do much to assist the provision of pre-service, inservice and bridging courses by tertiary institutions and professional associations. Unfortunately, they have not so far been followed up by the Commonwealth Government.

Occupational English Programs

The chief response of the Government to "occupational", "vocation specific" English which is so essential for migrants to obtain recognition of their overseas qualifications, has been to set up the English for Specific Purposes (ESP) program in TAFE colleges throughout Australia, in 1983. This program is discussed above in connection with TAFE. Although approximately 2,000 students in NSW attend ESP programs in TAFE colleges each year, with paid allowances, this in no way meets the demand. Of the 16 ESP courses currently being offered in seven NSW TAFE colleges, only two are in the professional and para-professional field - one for doctors and one for nurses. The rest cover trade areas such as motor mechanics, carpentry, wiring, hairdressing, electrical trades, workshop practice, sheetmetal work, fitting and machining, welding and bricklaying. Clearly there is room for universities, colleges of advanced education and professional bodies to become involved in the provision of 'vocational specific' English courses for professionals, in view of the danger of this area being neglected by the Commonwealth Government in its provision of funding.

A significant enhancement of the opportunity to improve overseas qualifications, especially in the trades, has been the provision of English-on-the-job or English in the Workplace programs as a basic right of the migrant worker. The ability to learn English in the workplace not only improves communication skills for workers of non-English-speaking background but also enables workers to undertake further training and education and thus can lead to promotion, more job satisfaction and a better way of life for migrant workers.

In the opinion of one union in NSW:

Many of these workers have a knowledge of spoken and written English reckoned to be below survival level. The union believes that, without a comprehensive on-the-job English program, workers will continue to miss promotion, be unable

to make their opinions known at union meetings, risk injury on the job because they misunderstand safety instructions and be unable to improve their qualifications through training.[36]

It is interesting to note that the principle of English in the Workplace is incorporated into the policy of the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU), and the NSW Labor Council, its affiliate in NSW. In March 1985 the NSW Water and Sewerage Employees Union won a test case to have English-on-the-job as a right for employees of non-English-speaking background without loss of pay. This is a unique achievement as no award or industrial agreement in Australia has ever embraced this principle. The number of hours of instruction was not laid down but left open to consultation and negotiation. However, the Premier's announcement in March 1985 that a minimum of 50 - 60 hours of on-the-job training should be provided over a four year period will no doubt set a precedent. This is a somewhat limited provision in comparison with the Victorian Government's agreement in 1984 to give its 5,000 railway and transport workers 100 hours of English language training on the job over a three year period.

In Victoria, new teaching approaches are being used in the on-the-job English classes. Working in interactive classroom situations, the participants take part in group and pair activities with the teacher giving them the opportunity to determine and negotiate the sorts of learning situations they want. Every four weeks or so they negotiate the methods of teaching as a group.

One of the truly pleasing aspects of the program ... is the enthusiasm of the participants ... To a man the class members agreed that, not only were the classes doing something for them, they were stimulated to the point that they wished to pursue further study. However, no one felt that 100 hours was sufficient - though it did whet their appetites to a considerable degree. Regardless of their ages, the members of the group at Newport (Victoria), some of whom have more than 20 years service with the railways, felt that they had discovered a new important fact of life - it's never too late to learn. [37]

The teachers of the English on-the-job courses in Victoria see them in a broader context across a whole-life spectrum. They see such courses as a form of continuing education for all workers throughout their lives. They would see, as a logical progression, the development of more specialised education modules in the form of extension education courses which focus on the development of a wide variety of skills. There are also native speakers of English who would readily avail themselves of the opportunity, if provided, to take reading and writing courses to develop their skills and improve their work situation. Although such programs already exist in various adult education organisations, the provision of on-the-job instruction could act as an impetus to give many workers the confidence and interest to pursue such studies elsewhere off-the-job.

What is happening at V/Line is very much in keeping with the movement towards continuing education at all levels all around the world. Our teachers hope that our obvious step in the right direction with "English-on-the-Job" is only a first step along a long path. [38]

This concept of eventually broadening the base of the English on-the-job provision to some form of training and instruction for all workers may be a very important means of overcoming the resistance of English-speaking workers to such special programs for workers of non-English-speaking background. A recent survey carried out by the State Rail Authority (SRA) in NSW found that:

State Rail Authority workers attending on-the-job English classes say they are ridiculed by workmates, that lack of support from some supervisors stops them going to classes, and that workmates complain that the classes are special treatment for immigrants. [39]

Although AMES in NSW, as part of its English in the Workplace program, provides short courses on cultural awareness to native speakers working with, or directly supervising, non-native speakers, clearly this measure is not enough to overcome resentment which might arise in response to English-on-the-job classes for migrant workers. What are needed are practical measures to overcome negative attitudes of fellow workers, such as the strategy referred to above.

Attitude Change Within a Multicultural Society

Attitude Change and Cultural Awareness Programs

To function cohesively and harmoniously, a society consisting of over 100 different cultural groups requires a certain degree of attitude change on the part of the members of these diverse groups which are by their nature ethnocentric. Furthermore, when both State and Commonwealth Governments have proclaimed policies of equal opportunity for all to participate fully in the society, and have enacted anti-discrimination legislation, then clearly for such ambitious policies to succeed attitude change needs to take place in two parts of society. First, the minority groups of persons of a non-English-speaking background need to be informed of these basic rights, cultural aspects of society, and the services which are available to all members of society; secondly, the dominant group, consisting largely of those of Anglo-Celtic background, needs to be made aware of government legislation and policy in this area, the cultural background and experience of the different ethnic groups, and how to make services in the community accessible to persons of non-English-speaking background.

Adult education, as an educational process which enriches knowledge by means of formal, non-formal and informal channels, can play a vital role as an impetus for attitude or behavioural change in a multicultural society. However, for the knowledge which is passed on to have an effect on the attitudes or behaviour of the individual, some kind of experiential learning is necessary. Experiential learning depends not only on the content of what is taught or presented, but also on the methods by which the knowledge is passed on. To date the major response of adult education in the context of attitude change within a multicultural society has been cultural awareness programs for the dominant group.

The Commonwealth Government's attempt to provide cultural awareness programs for professionals throughout Australia in the Galbally Recommendations 14's pilot program from 1979 to 1981 showed that:

Certainly at face value the courses have generally been successful and it is apparent they have generated a great deal of goodwill within the various ethnic communities. What is less certain is the extent to which participation in courses of this type has brought about any marked long-term change in the behaviour of professionals in the communicative context. (Davis, 1982:157)

The danger with cross-cultural awareness or intercultural study programs is that in conveying information about the cultural aspects of the migrant presence in Australia, they may not touch on the real issues and hence not lead to any kind of attitude or behaviour change in the participants.

Michael Liffman, an experienced community educator of the Ecumenical Migration Centre in Melbourne, has made a clear analysis of the problem of professionals in a multicultural society. In discussing "what do we teach?" he concludes that there is a compelling argument for giving priority to dealing with awareness, sensitivity and the development of an appropriate attitude, rather than the conveying of specific information:

...In taking on concrete information you encounter the risk of making dangerous and simplistic generalisations and stereotypes, ...unless people's awareness is confronted, their attitudes and prejudices get in the way of their receiving and understanding the information put to them. Questions about immigration, identity, ethnic rights and the like arouse very deep-seated and not always conscious reactions and anxieties in people. If participants in a workshop really feel that "people who come to Australia should speak English, otherwise why did they come here" or "if they don't like it here why don't they go back home", it is not going to be very effective to tell them about the particular needs of the Turkish community and expect a dispassionate and analytic reaction from them.

(Liffman, 1982:11-12)

He goes on to suggest a conceptual framework which, although providing answers, does assist in getting beyond a simplistic approach. Cultural awareness programs to be effective in leading to some kind of attitude or behaviour change would need to encompass four distinct aspects of the immigrant experience: communication, culture, experience and resettlement.

Communication refers to the difficulties which migrants may experience in communicating with the host society, and the responsibility of the English-speaking community to ensure that communication occurs between it and persons of a non-English-speaking background. This raises a whole range of issues about language policy, approaches to bilingualism and the teaching of language. The recent Report on A National Language Policy by the Senate Standing Committee on Education and the Arts (October 1984) is quite pertinent to a consideration of these questions.

The concept of culture, while essential to an understanding of the migrant experience, has many problems associated with it. One danger is that culture can be presented very superficially, as merely aspects of the exotic - music, dance and cuisine. Another danger in presenting a program on Greek or Italian culture, for example, is that shallow generalisations about cultural difference can lead to stereotyping and prejudiced views about different ethnic groups. The concept of culture is both more limited and more complex than a superficial understanding suggests. It is not an all-embracing key which can be used as a simple tool to understand complex issues. Culture deals with the profound and intangible domains - with birth, death, the family, illness, faith and the spiritual. In this sense culture affects everyone, whether recent arrivals from Vietnam and Poland or fifth generation Anglo-Celtic Australians. Thus, although the idea of culture is an important part of understanding the migrant experience, it needs to be handled far more sensitively, and applied with far more discrimination, than is usually the case.

Knowledge of the background experience of persons of the different ethnic groups in Australian society can help native Australians understand the attitudes, expectations and needs of persons of a non-English-speaking background. If, for instance, students in AMES classes have come from countries where education and teachers are regarded in a far more formal and authoritarian way than they are in Australia, it is that perception and expectation which those people will bring to class. In every area of life, whether it is health care, child care, the welfare system, the police, trade unions, the political system, migrants bring with them their back-

ground experience and cultural expectations. It is vital that people dealing with immigrants have some knowledge of the experience that those immigrants have had with the social systems in their country of origin if they are to understand their interaction in Australian society.

Resettlement is the least understood, but possibly the most important, aspect of the immigrant experience. It refers to the fact that all migrants have left one country and begun a new life in another. Some migrants will have come out to Australia as youngsters, others as elderly people. Some have brought with them occupational and skills training which they are able to use here; others will have no training; others again will have had a training which they are unable to use in their new country. Some people will have come from a rural or peasant background into a city background. There are endless variables within the settlement process, and an understanding of the complex and life-long dynamics of that process, and its effects on any particular person, is vital to the professional seeking to understand the person with whom he is dealing. However, tertiary and professional education almost totally neglect this issue. (ibid.:12-14)

With this framework in mind it is clear that adult education could play a significant role in influencing the attitudes and perceptions of all those who make decisions which affect the lives of persons of a non-English-speaking background or have face-to-face dealings with them. This includes not only professionals such as doctors, lawyers, teachers, nurses and the like, but also bureaucrats, police, clergy and counter staff in government institutions.

Examples of Non-formal Programs and Providers

- i. Commonwealth Government initiatives to provide cultural awareness programs for professionals in Australia from 1979 to 1981 have been discussed above. It was noted that the present arrangement of providing funds to specific professional associations to prepare cross-cultural materials for use in their continuing education programs, while a useful initiative, is disappointing in that there is no other financial assistance to encourage the provision of cross-cultural programs by the continuing education outlets of tertiary institutions.
- ii. Staff development and training programs within Commonwealth Government departments. Following the Government's acceptance of the recommendations of the Galbally Report in 1978, the onus rested on Commonwealth Government departments to make their services accessible to their non-English-speaking clientele. As a result there was a notable increase in the number of courses designed to promote an awareness of cultural diversity and the difficulties migrant clients experienced in communicating with government departments. Courses were set up for health workers, educators, social workers, welfare officers and counter staff. Another result was the setting up of Migrant Service Units within certain government departments. Such a Unit was set up within the Department of Social Security (NSW Branch) in Sydney in 1980. Amongst its many functions, all of which relate to promoting equality of access to departmental services and programs for migrants and refugees, the Unit is directly responsible for fostering an awareness within the Department of cultural differences and language difficulties and their implications for departmental services and programs.

To this end, a Communications with Migrant Clients training kit and resource guide has been produced in cooperation with the Victorian Migrant Service Unit of the Department.[40] This kit has been used in imparting specialised knowledge and skills to social work and counter staff in communicating with clients of a non-English-speaking background. This publication is particularly useful because it contains the conceptual framework in its course content, as outlined by Liffman above, as well as affective or experiential learning through videos, films and simulation games.

Non-government organisations and institutions have played an important role in the provision of adult education for a multicultural society.

- iii. The Ecumenical Migration Centre in Richmond, Victoria, established in 1962, is the only one of its kind in Australia. It is a non-denominational agency which through its welfare, educational and community work fosters the development of Australia as a multicultural society. The work of the Centre is diversified, with a strong emphasis on welfare work with a non-English-speaking clientele, community education and community development. Workers provide a much needed welfare and counselling service for Greek and Turkish immigrants and Vietnamese refugees, as well as support for smaller groups like the Timorese.

The Centre also houses the Clearing House on Migration Issues (CHOMI), a unique information centre on migration issues which provides a base for the Centre's community education program. The library holds 30,000 documents and 200 periodicals which are used by students, teachers, Government departments and others seeking up-to-date information or undertaking research.

The Centre has been running programs on migration issues and cultural awareness for many years for all sections of the community; educators, social workers, welfare workers, clergy, doctors, nurses, bureaucrats and professionals of all kinds. Frequently these courses are run in conjunction with the Victorian Ethnic Affairs Commission which since 1979 has been very heavily involved in such courses. A review of the Ministry of Ethnic Affairs' (as it was previously called) cross-cultural awareness courses in 1982 found that that "notwithstanding some problems there... is a great need and a growing demand by professional and other groups for courses which promote cultural awareness". (Ethnic Affairs Commission of Victoria, 1983: 21)

- iv. In NSW the Multicultural Centre of Sydney College of Advanced Education has a dual role: it serves the academic needs of the College as well as being involved in multicultural field outside the College as parts of its community service. In the latter role, the Centre is heavily involved in fulfilling contracts with Government and professional bodies to mount training programs for specialist personnel in various fields of education, health and welfare in a multicultural society and in the development of relevant source materials. It also engages in small-scale research.

The Centre is making a unique and important contribution to continuing education programs of cultural awareness training for professionals in NSW. Currently the Centre is involved in the provision of training programs or resource materials for the following Government departments and organisations: Commonwealth Departments of Immigration and

Ethnic Affairs, and Social Security; the NSW Departments of TAFE, Health, Youth and Community Services; the NSW Education Commission; the Australian Dental Foundation. (Multicultural Centre, Sydney College of Advanced Education, 1984:5)

Informal Approaches to Attitude Change in a Multicultural Society

Multiculturalism has implications for informal education mechanisms as well as formal and non-formal educational programs reaching specific groups of professionals:

To handle effectively the situations arising from an increasingly diverse population in the nineteen eighties there is a need to increase in all Australians an understanding of the nature of society and the need to work towards a harmonious multicultural society. Community organisations, the media and families have roles of major significance to play for which they need encouragement, guidance and support. [41]

Part III below contains a detailed discussion of how community attitudes to migration and immigrants have changed over the years. It also indicates the widespread ignorance in the wider community of the multicultural society so often referred to by politicians.

In the development of the understanding of this multicultural society there appears to have been two main directions. One was the development of official political acceptance of the concept. The other was the reality of everyday life for participants in this society.[42]

When one looks at the most significant influences on public opinion or attitudes in Australian society, the media, it is clear that there is little positive reinforcement of the concept of the multicultural society, in particular on television and radio. The 1981 Review of the ABC, Australia's national broadcasting service, noted that:

the ABC has played virtually no role in providing for the information needs of migrants ...and was seen as uninterested in the concerns of ethnic communities, despite its responsibility as a national broadcaster. It remains to be seen whether the ABC, with its new Charter, which enjoins it to take account of the multicultural nature of Australian society, will take any major role in meeting migrants' needs in the information area. (Report of the Committee of Review of the SBS, 1984:510)

What are also needed are programs about the diverse cultural groups in the society which have an appropriate balance between cognitive approaches, directed at people's knowledge, and affective approaches, directed at their feelings. (Liffman, 1984:98)

Needless to say, the commercial sector, both television and radio, has largely ignored the migrant presence in Australia altogether.

The Special Broadcasting Service (SBS), on the other hand, is in a unique position to play a positive educative role in a multicultural society. Ethnic radio (2EA Sydney and 3EA Melbourne) was set up in 1975 basically to

provide an information service to migrants in their own languages. Currently SBS is broadcasting in 53 languages in Sydney and 51 languages in Melbourne. Multicultural television, Channel 0, is basically broadcast in English with foreign films and programs in community languages taking up most of the programming time. At present it is broadcasting in Sydney and Melbourne but the Commonwealth Government has already announced the extension of broadcasting throughout Australia in 1985.

In the current review of the SBS, the Review Committee made some significant recommendations concerning the Government's desire to foster multiculturalism:

that SBS concentrate on providing a diversity of programs accessible to the whole community and performing a generally educative rather than educational function in terms of multiculturalism.

We endorse as a desirable educative objective for the SBS's total program output that there should be programs which give recognition to the cultural diversity of Australia and promote cross cultural communication.

(Report of the Committee of Review of the SBS 1984:522-523)

The Review also stressed that programs for English language instruction should be developed for both ethnic radio and multicultural television, in addition to the information programs already in existence. Already, an English language program was in the process of being developed by SBS for Channel 0. No locally based English language instruction program has been developed for ethnic radio to date. BBC material is being used at present. This is not always successful because of the difference in accent and social situations in Australia.

Newspapers can also be a powerful tool in attitude change. In Australia the ethnic press is widely read by ethnic communities as a source of news and comment. As the 1980 W.D. Scott survey of migrants' information needs pointed out, ethnic newspapers are mainly read for overseas news, news about Australia and current affairs and politics. (Scott, W.D. & Co., 1980:16) Recently both State and Commonwealth Government departments have begun to use the ethnic press to publicise their functions and services in accordance with their policy of providing information which will lead to equality of access to Government services.

Ethnic press, although an important means of communicating with people of non-English-speaking background, has some problems. First, it can only be of service to literate members of the ethnic communities. Second, many of the ethnic newspapers, except those of the larger groups, are published weekly or less frequently, and have few resources. Therefore, they cannot be expected to develop much "educative" material for their readers.

An interesting analysis of the way in which ethnic communities have been portrayed in the print media was presented at a seminar on Prejudice in Print, organised by the Centre for Migration Studies, Monash University (Victoria) in November, 1981(White & White, 1982:42-47). A study which examined articles about immigrants appearing in three Melbourne daily papers between the years 1935 and 1977 found:

- i. National origin was tied to labels with negative connotations such as Mafia to shootings of Italians, in the British case "British disease", in the Social Security case "Greek conspiracy".[43]
- ii. It was clear that there was not equality of access to the pages of the press. In other words, the view which was recurring constantly in the media came to be seen as the legitimate one.
- iii. One of the prevailing themes in the press over the years was the presentation of individual immigrants as having been assimilated to Australian cultural norms, or as being in the process of becoming assimilated to them.
- iv. There was a marked contradiction between the world portrayed in the press and the world which is described by numerous agencies involved with immigrants and by researchers. Immigrants were often portrayed as having equal access to the economic and social benefits available in Australia.
- v. There appears to be an ambivalence in attitudes to the migrant presence in Australia - neither overwhelming acceptance nor outright rejection.

This type of reporting of immigrants which indicates a disjunction between the idealised world of equal opportunity presented in the press and the world of systematic disadvantage which is the reality of the lives of many immigrants, poses a serious problem for harmonious community relations.

Recent social policies and programs aimed at overcoming structural impediments to equality of access are being implemented within a climate of public opinion which, to a large extent, denies that those problems exist (ibid:46). This means that it will be very difficult for such government programs and policies to succeed. What is needed is for accurate and sensitive reporting via the print media of the full range of life situations of persons of non-English-speaking background. In this way the understanding and opinions held by the general public can be slowly opened up to the reality which exists in Australian society today.

A consideration of the English language press reveals a notable development. Since the mid-1970s the larger morning dailies such as the Sydney Morning Herald and the Melbourne Age have had an Ethnic Affairs Reporter to cover on a full-time basis developments and events concerning the ethnic communities in Australia. Today the validity of such coverage is unquestioned, which is an indication that some form of information about ethnic communities is regularly included in daily newspapers. However, for such information to play an educative role for newspaper readers in a multicultural society, a concerted effort would need to be mounted in conjunction with the other sections of the media, such as commercial radio and television, to provide "affective" (see Liffman above) educative material about Australia's multicultural society for the community at large.

Adult Education for Full Personal Development and Participation in Society

For full personal development and participation in the society of persons of non-English-speaking background, all the aspects of adult education discussed in detail in Part II would need to be present. That is, it should require persons of a non-English-speaking background to be assisted by adult education programs: to master the English language to an acceptable level; to develop their knowledge and understanding of Australian society; to improve their technical and professional qualifications so that they gain recognition for them; and finally to experience attitude change which allows them to retain the best of their cultural background while adopting the best the host society has to offer.

To work successfully, all these factors require that within the host society there be an awareness and acceptance of cultural differences and a willingness to share and work together to build a better Australia for all. These are the ideals for which adult education in the context of a multi-cultural society should strive.

1. This is from the Unesco Recommendation on the development of Adult Education, adopted by the General Conference at its 19th Session in Nairobi, 26 November, 1976.
2. Budget 1984-85, News Release by the Hon. S. West, Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, AGPS, Canberra, 1984, p.1.
3. Learning English with the N.S.W. Adult Migrant Education Service, AMES, Sydney
4. Signing of the Commonwealth State Arrangements on the Adult Migrant Education Program, speech by the Hon S. West, Minister for Immigration, Adelaide, 25th September, 1984, p.7.
- 5.. This paper outlines the various estimates of language need amongst migrants, quoting figures of 525,000 (Department of Immigration & Ethnic Affairs, based on 1975 census) and 300,000 (Ethnic Affairs Commission Report to the Premier, Participation in 1978, and the Galbally Report. It contests the recent estimate of the Australian Bureau of Statistics Language survey in May 1983 of 65,800 on the grounds that this estimate was based on self-assessment and no attempt was made to determine how fluently or well the person spoke, read or wrote English.
6. The study showed that 96% of the respondents attending English language classes were unemployed. This is in keeping with the Australian Bureau of Statistics finding that the unemployment rate of all migrants who arrived since January 1983, is 32.6%, a figure well above the national average.
7. In 1983 the N.S.W. Adult Migrant Education Service undertook a project to investigate the language needs of migrant women giving birth in Australian hospitals. Using the real language recorded in hospitals, a special program was developed to assist migrant women to communicate more effectively with hospital staff. The materials, which consist of an audio-visual program, a student workbook, a cassette tape, and a bilingual booklet, have been designed for both class and home use. The bilingual booklet is available in the following languages: Vietnamese, Chinese, Arabic, Spanish, Portuguese, Khmer, Turkish and Polish.
- 8.. See Courtenay, M. Program and Materials Development in the N.S.W. Adult Migrant Education Service. A position paper prepared for: the Professional Development Sub-Committee of the Joint Commonwealth/State Consultative Committee on the AMEP (unpublished) June, 1981, p.1. Ms Courtenay is the Supervisor of the Curriculum Unit of AMES.
- 9.. In Courtenay, M., 1984 Background notes on the Curriculum Unit (unpublished).
10. See Courtenay, M., Program and Materials Development in the NSW Adult Migrant Education Service, op cit.
11. A detailed list of materials development projects can be obtained from AMES, Caltex House, 189 Kent Street, Sydney, 2000, NSW.
12. See Courtenay, M., Program and Materials Development in the NSW Adult Migrant Education Service, op cit.

13. Ethnic Affairs Policy Statements: all departments and authorities in NSW were requested by the Premier to prepare such policy statements by the end of 1984. The basic philosophy is to ensure that initiatives to improve access to Government services for persons of non-English-speaking background will have to be provided by government instrumentalities as a regular part of their mainstream duties. NSW is the only state in Australia with such an initiative. The Commonwealth Government has no clear policy statement on mainstreaming to date.
14. Since 1980 equal opportunity legislation has been enacted by both Commonwealth and State Governments in Australia. Such legislation indicates the commitment of governments to policies that will lead to greater employment of groups traditionally under-represented in the public service (both State and Commonwealth) - women, migrants, Aborigines and the disabled. In 1980 the Anti-Discrimination (Amendment) Act in NSW set up a Directorate of Equal Opportunity in Public Employment for the purpose of overseeing the implementation of equal opportunity management plans requested of all government departments and statutory authorities. The Commonwealth Government, on the other hand, recently introduced the Public Service Reform Act 1984 in which, among other matters, it placed a positive obligation on departments to develop and implement equal opportunity management programs for disadvantaged groups. One of the main features of the above legislation - affirmative action - entails taking positive steps to ensure that those who have been disadvantaged by discriminatory practices, past and present, are able to compete in recruitment and promotion on equal terms.
15. News Release. Premier of NSW, 4 March, 1985, p.1.
16. There are 97 colleges and 200 associated teaching centres throughout NSW.
17. TAFE defines 'persons of a non-English speaking-background' on the basis of first-language spoken. This includes Australian born students whose parents were born overseas in a non-English-speaking country.
18. Final examination at end of secondary school, leading to matriculation.
19. The ASLPR (Australian second Language Proficiency Ratings) describes language behaviour in 9 proficiency levels along the developmental path from zero to native-like. See Appendices VII and VIII. 2+ is regarded as 'minimum social proficiency', that is, able to satisfy routine social demands and limited work requirements.
20. This figure was obtained from the TAFE Multicultural Education Unit.
21. This figure is derived from an Australian Bureau of Statistics Language Survey in May 1983 and a National Survey of Language Learning in Schools in 1983, undertaken by the Commonwealth Department of Education.
22. New South Wales TAFE's Multicultural Education Policy defines community languages as languages used on a day-to-day basis by family or community groups in Australia. English, also a community language, is recognised as Australia's national and official language.
23. The National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters (NAATI), was set up in 1976 for the establishment and maintenance of standards in interpreting and translating throughout Australia. The

Authority has instituted five levels of performance ranging from a basic level (Level I) to a senior advanced level (Level V). Level II courses, the basic professional level, are provided by universities and colleges of advanced education. There are no provisions for training beyond Level III at present.

24. In 1978 a number of community languages in NSW were accepted as Higher School Certificate subjects by the Board of Senior School Studies. At the same time, the Saturday School of Community Languages was established by the Department of Education to provide for secondary school instruction in a large number of community languages.
25. Outreach is a needs-based educational program for people who have difficulty attending a TAFE college; Participation and Equity (PEP) is a Commonwealth government funded program to provide young people (15-25 years) with a broad range of educational/training experience to give them a foundation for their working and non-working lives; TAFEC access grants for non-formal, community-based education aim to widen the access to adult education for people who have not participated in post-secondary education.
26. The Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission (CTEC) is the government advisory body responsible for the administration of funds to tertiary institutions.
27. The NSW Board of Adult Education was established in 1974 for the promotion and co-ordination of adult education activities within the state. It distributes funds provided by the NSW and Commonwealth governments to adult education providers, although it does not run programs itself.
28. Sydney Morning Herald, 9th March, 1985, p.4.
29. In COPQ annual reports for 1973, 1974, 1975, 1979, 1980.
30. This is from the submission of Professor Richard Gye, Dean of the Faculty of Medicine, University of Sydney, 24 September, 1982.
31. View expressed by the Inter-College Committee on Multicultural Education.
32. In Nuova Paese, 13 August, 1982, p.9. This is a fortnightly newspaper produced by FILEF.
33. Letter of FILEF Cultural Committee to the NSW Board of Adult Education, 24th November, 1982.
34. CCE, at the ANU, also provided a number of seminars addressing the Galbally 14 recommendation during 1981-82. Seminars were arranged for homogeneous professional groups, including doctors, lawyers, teachers, para-medicals, and involved both informational and experiential components. Michael Liffman (from The Ecumenical Migration Centre) took part in several of the seminars, and introduced the Bafa Bafa simulated exercise.
35. This has been produced by the Ecumenical Migration Centre.
36. The NSW Water and Sewerage Employees Union in the Sydney Morning Herald, 16 February, 1985, p.3.

37. &
38. See 'English on the job', V Line Update, February, 1984, p.2.
39. *ibid*, p.2.
40. Communicating With Migrant Clients, A Training Kit and Resource Guide, Migrant Services Unit, Department of Social Security, Sydney, 1982.
41. Discussion Paper on Education in a Multicultural Society, Education Portfolio, 1980, p.5.
42. Ministerial Discussion Paper, Racism in the 1980s, A Response, Office of the Minister for Ethnic Affairs, Melbourne, 1984, p.11.
43. The shootings of Italians refers to four Italian men who were shot between April, 1963 and January, 1964; all four victims had links with Calabria, were involved in the Victoria Market and were victims of shotgun attacks. The 'British disease' refers to the wave of strikes that swept Australia in 1977. The 'Greek conspiracy' refers to an alleged social security fraud by some members of the Greek community - the press claim a thousand pensioners were involved, but the actual number turned out to be 150.

PART III

ADULT EDUCATION, MULTICULTURALISM AND THE FUTURE

Government Definitions and Interpretations

The major task is not to decide whether or not we have a multicultural society. We have a multicultural society. The first challenge is to make it work. (Grassby, 1977: 7)

These words delivered by Al Grassby were most prophetic. As Minister for Immigration of the Labor Government, 1972-74, he was the first political figure to give credence to multiculturalism as a public policy for Australia. In a statement called A Multicultural Society for the Future (Grassby, 1973) he produced a manifesto for cultural pluralism. For the first time a government encouraged migrants to have a sense of personal pride in their cultural heritage.

However, since then the concept has taken on a different form which has led to a sharp debate. It is likely that it will take many years before a clear definition of the term "Australia is a multicultural society" can emerge - and complete consensus on the meaning of the term may never be achieved (Australian Ethnic Affairs Council, 1981: 1). The difficulty in seeking clarification on the subject is that in some of the discussion which has taken place "multiculturalism" in Australia is presented as an already existing state of affairs, while elsewhere it appears to be a desirable goal. Yet others have said that while Australia is already a multicultural society, (the "Anglo-Australians") are not fully aware of its existence (Australian Ethnic Affairs Council, 1981:1).

The most comprehensive work in attempting to define the concept of multiculturalism as a public policy for the Commonwealth Government was carried out by Professor Zubrzycki as Chairman of the Ethnic Affairs Task Force of the Australian Council on Population and Ethnic Affairs in a document entitled Multiculturalism for all Australians, Our Developing Nationhood, released in May, 1982. This document was a refinement of earlier work which highlighted the key social issues or principles essential for a successful multicultural society (Australian Ethnic Affairs Council, 1977). In 1982 the principles espoused by the Australian Council on Population & Ethnic Affairs were: social cohesion, cultural identity, equality of opportunity and access, and equal responsibility for, commitment to and participation in society (Australian Council on Population & Ethnic Affairs, Multiculturalism for all Australians, 1982:12).

This policy document was subjected to a series of national consultations which tested the propositions in public debate, in June 1982. The impetus for the public discussions was the Government's proposed changes to British subject status and the Oath of Allegiance in the Citizenship Act. The report on the consultations concludes that although the public forums were vulnerable "to disruption by irrational or unco-operative elements" (ibid: 8), at the same time "much of the discussion indicated that the depth of understanding of some issues was limited and that opposition to some aspects of multi-culturalism was based on misunderstanding of, or unfamiliarity with the main issues. The need for further public discussion and interchange on these topics is evident" (ibid: 9).

The interpretation of multiculturalism by the different political parties is reflected in their public policies. Malcolm Fraser, the former Prime Minister of the Liberal-National Coalition Government, considered that the

creation of multicultural Australia was one of the major achievements of his Government.[1] Multiculturalism was translated into practice when the recommendations of the Review of Post-arrival Programs and Services for Migrants (the Galbally Report) were accepted in toto by the Government in 1978 and \$50m allocated for implementation over the next three years. The Report never actually defined multiculturalism, even though its policy recommendations are centred around a multicultural society. One political analyst suggests that it served the Government's purpose to be vague because it could be seen as a political document, as a means of handing out benefits to attract votes (Sestito, 1982:32).

Although there was some improvement in the delivery of social and welfare services for migrants, the Fraser Government's espousal of multiculturalism has been criticised on a number of grounds. One ethnic newspaper of the day expressed the opinion that the Report was insufficiently sensitive to particular ethnic communities and that, although it represents a serious attempt to understand the problems of newly-arrived migrants, it would in no way solve the problems faced by migrants in Australia.[2] Another critic has recently pointed out that the major weakness of this view of multiculturalism is that it assumes that the problems of migrants occur only upon initial settlement and can be solved merely with an input to welfare services at this period (Jayasuriya, 1984: 25).

The attitude of the present Labor Government to multiculturalism can be seen in the words of the Prime Minister, Bob Hawke, at the official opening of the office of FECCA (Federation of Ethnic Communities Councils) on 26 April, 1984: "The Government gives particular priority to its special migrant and ethnic programs and services as well as developing more responsive mainstream services through equal employment opportunity programs" [3]. Since it came to office in 1983, the Labor Government has followed the policy of the previous Government on post-arrival services and programs with reviews of

substantial components...in the areas of education, employment, welfare, the law and civil rights, interpreting/ translating the arts and the media... Wherever possible, the special needs of migrants are to be met by adjustments to mainstream programs and services, i.e. those provided for the community at large. Special migrant services are to continue where necessary to meet particular migrant needs and ensure equality of access and equality of services and benefits for migrants. (West, 1983(b), Foreword)

COPAPS (The Committee on Post-arrival Programs and Services), consisting of senior officials of the various government departments involved in the program, has the responsibility of up-grading and co-ordinating the post-arrival services.

It is interesting that there is no overall structure set up to implement the Commonwealth Government's policy on multiculturalism as is the case with most state governments with their Ethnic Affairs Commissions, established as statutory bodies. Furthermore, when the Council of AIMA (the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs) recommended, in its report on recent consultations about its functions in the future, that the Institute be replaced by a commission, the Government emphatically rejected the idea. Instead, the view put forward in Parliament by the Minister for Immigration at the time was that:

the Government believes that what is needed to respond effectively to contemporary community interest about migrants and community relations, is to expand the objectives and functions, re-order work priorities, and achieve greater public visibility of, and openness in, AIMA's operations The present objectives can be summarised as: development of community awareness and appreciation of migrant cultures; promotion of tolerance, understanding, harmonious relations, and mutual esteem between people in Australia; promoting of cohesive society through sharing of cultures; and promoting an environment allowing full participation in Australian society (West, Hansard, 1984:2175)

Although AIMA has been given the function of "co-operating and co-ordinating activities and services with departments, authorities and agencies at the three levels of government and with community groups" (West, Hansard, 1984:2175), it is difficult to imagine how this can be effectively carried out by an Institute whose statutory functions are to provide advice and research for the Government relating to the objects of the Institute and community education.

A more effective role was given to the Ethnic Affairs Commission by the New South Wales State Government when it was set up in 1979 to be the "prime mover" in the planning, co-ordinating, evaluating and promoting of ethnic affairs activities of the NSW Government Administration (Ethnic Affairs Commission of NSW, 1978:9). Participation, the Report released by the Commission in 1978, although it covered the same terrain as the Galbally Report, has been viewed by some leading spokesmen of multiculturalism for Australia in the 1980's as a far more enlightened document. Professor Jayasuriya, chairman of NACCME (the National Advisory and Co-ordinating Committee on Multicultural Education), set up in April 1984, believes:

This important report sets out for the first time in Australia the need for a more realistic analysis of multiculturalism based on a proper understanding of the status of migrants and ethnic minorities today (Jayasuriya, 1984:25).

The report is based on a view of multiculturalism which is not merely confined to questions of cultural or ethnic identity, or to giving ethnic minorities special welfare services. Rather it sees the problem facing migrants as one of playing a full part in the social and political system of the nation. This for Jayasuriya leads to a concern for questions of rights and the struggle for equality and justice - a matter of trying to solve problems people face at work, in striving for better jobs, getting promotion and having equal access to education, health and other community resources. In short it is multiculturalism directed at "life chances". He sees the inescapable problem facing participants in the multiculturalism debate as one of learning to reconcile the rightful concerns of preserving diversity and ethnicity (cultural pluralism) with the legitimate desires to achieve equality.

The official versions of multiculturalism espoused by political parties, especially after the Galbally Report in 1978, all stand indicted by the failure to show how multicultural policies, for example those on ethnic television and ethnic

schools, can remove the glaring deprivations and inequalities migrants are exposed to and ensure greater equality.
(Jayasuriya, 1984:25)

Thus it can be seen that multiculturalism as a public policy espoused by governments is not without its critics. Critics on the Left, made suspicious perhaps by its ready acceptability to conservative politicians, claim that multiculturalism is another attempt to obscure class-based inequalities (Jakubowicz, 1981:4-13). Yet conservative critics are even more vocal. Their arguments include a claim for superior values of Anglo-Celtic culture, criticisms of aspects of the ethnic cultures (with examples such as the more limited role of women), warnings about the divisiveness which may accompany social pluralism, and so on (Knopfelmacher, 1982:40; Chipman, 1980:3-6).

There are others who, while sympathetic to the philosophy of multiculturalism, have suggested that its primary cultural emphasis might be inadequate without corresponding political activity and representation legitimating the pursuit of ethnic interests (Martin, 1976:11-27).

There is, however, increasing evidence of such political activity beginning to emerge, as can be seen in the Greek political mobilisation in inner Melbourne, where Greeks have been successful in municipal pre-selection and elections (Allen, 1984:14).

Although Greeks seem to be the most politically active group in local representation, there are still very few representatives of ethnic communities in state and federal parliaments. Nonetheless, the ethnic communities in general must benefit from the close attention being paid to their interests and roles by governments, which in the 1980s have been including ethnic organisations in the policymaking process "to a degree almost undreamed of" a decade earlier, and by political parties in their policies and election campaigns (Jupp, 1982:307).

The various perceptions of multiculturalism on the political spectrum, whether defining multicultural Australia in terms of cultural diversity, equality of opportunity or ethnic rights, all have this in common:

The agenda for a truly multicultural society where there is tolerance and understanding with social justice has still to be written the political debate has only just begun and perhaps by 2001 we will be able to enshrine a more enlightened vision of a multicultural Australia. It is time to take stock and re-examine with candour and vision the rhetoric of multiculturalism. (Jayasuriya, 1983:23)

The Community Responses

Community-Based Organisations

Significant developments which were to make public the ethnic communities' response to multiculturalism came in the early 1970s with the foundation of various community-based organisations committed to ethnic interests. Their chief importance has been that they have facilitated continuity of debate and discussion to a degree that was not possible previously (Martin, 1978:122).

The most notable of these have been the Ecumenical Migration Centre at Richmond, Melbourne; CURA (the Centre for Urban Research and Action), Fitzroy, Melbourne; the Australian Greek Welfare Society, Melbourne; and the Ethnic Communities Councils which were set up in each State.

There is little doubt that the establishment of Ethnic Communities Councils, which have become the "institutionalised" pressure groups expressing the needs and rights of the ethnic groups, was a most important step in the attainment of the ideals of multiculturalism as espoused by both political parties. As Jegorow, the chairman of the NSW Ethnic Communities Council, declared at the inaugural meeting at Sydney Town Hall on 27th July, 1975:

I would like to draw your attention to the fact that this is the very first time in the history of New South Wales that Australians of ethnic origin, born in Australia, born overseas, and migrants come together to speak for themselves rather than being spoken for as in the past[4].

In 1979 with the establishment of FECCA (the Federation of Ethnic Communities Councils of Australia) ethnic groups in Australia had an officially recognised voice on all matters of Commonwealth Government policy of common concern to them. In particular the organisation has concentrated on pressing for the right of equal opportunity of access, and the development of a culturally pluralistic and socially cohesive society in Australia[5].

Although the situation of ethnic groups in the society has vastly improved in that they now have a common voice on all public policy matters which affect them at both state and federal levels, the Ethnic Councils are not without their problems. The age of fully fledged participatory democracy has not yet arrived. The Councils are "above politics" in their charters and thus unencumbered, should be better able to act as "a sort of a transmission belt through which migrant wishes could pass to the Anglo-Saxon controlled and trained bureaucracy and power brokers"(Wilson & Bozworth, 1984:182). However, this has not been an easy task to carry out because the leadership of the Councils has often been faction-ridden, and bureaucrats and politicians have not always been willing to accept the point of view of the Councils. Although they have been very active in promoting reforms, especially in education, the Councils have had their influence balanced by competing bureaucratic bodies - the establishment of the Ethnic Affairs Commissions in New South Wales (1979), South Australia (1980), Victoria (1983) and Western Australia (1984). All these government bodies have, to varying degrees, been active and have done useful work in publicising the many areas in which Australians from non-English-speaking backgrounds suffer active discrimination.

With all these developments in both State and Commonwealth Government policies of multiculturalism, what has been the effect on the dominant community of Anglo-Celtic origin? For a country with a history of xenophobia and racial insensitivity (with particular reference to the past treatment of Aborigines, Chinese during the gold rush period and the White Australia policy of 1901), Australia has experienced diversification with remarkable success. Though opinion surveys suggest continuing attitudinal prejudices, such opinions have rarely been manifested in overt hostility (Parkin, A, 1984: 22).

Until the eruption of the debate in 1984 about Asian immigration, there were only occasional protests - from fringe right-wing groups and some state branches of the Returned Services League - about the immigration program. A wise consensus appeared to prevail among all party leaders that such fringe sentiments should be ignored, and a carefully-managed and limited program continued, in view of humanitarian considerations and Australia's responsibility to her Asian neighbours.

Results of Public Opinion Polls 1947-1980

Since the beginning of the large-scale post-War migration in 1947 there has been a series of systematic attempts to measure the attitude of Australian residents to various aspects of migration policy, and to Asian immigration programs in particular. However, governments have not been deterred from proceeding with their policies in spite of the results of polls.

In 1947, the Gallup poll asked whether Australia should take part in a plan to resettle 600,000 homeless Jews; the plan involved every country taking a certain number each year on a population basis. The majority (57%) said Australia should not take part, yet Australia took the largest number of Jewish refugees in relation to population size of any country outside Palestine. Later in 1947 and again in 1948, the Gallup poll asked about Australia's taking 12,000 displaced persons each year. In 1947, when told that Australia had agreed to do this, only 23% both knew what a displaced person was and approved the decision; in 1948, when the proportion of those who knew what a displaced person was had risen from 46% to 64%, the corresponding figure in favour was still less than half. By 1949, Australia had taken over 50,000 DPs (Feiglin, 1984; pp30-32).

In the 1970s many polls and surveys asked respondents

- i. how many migrants should be allowed
 - ii. which type of migrants should be allowed entry to Australia.
- . A 1971 "Age Poll" [6] of 1,000 adults in Melbourne found 55% said migration was too high and the following migrants should be accepted in order of preference: U.K. born, Northern Europeans, Southern Europeans, Asians, Middle Easterners, Jews and Negro.
- A 1972 "Age Poll" found 78% women and 72% men supported the view that "coloured migrants are acceptable as many others".
- A 1978 "Age Poll" found that 62% said that Vietnamese "boat people" should not be allowed to stay in Australia, whereas 30% said they should (Liffman, 1978: 16).

These results did not deter the Liberal-National Coalition Government of Malcolm Fraser from initiating a special immigration program for Vietnamese refugees in 1978.

The period from 1947 to the mid-1970s was generally a period of economic growth and prosperity. Immigrants were actively encouraged by State and

Commonwealth Governments to come to Australia. During this period all governments believed that immigration was closely related to economic growth. Attitude surveys over this period indicated that by the late 1960s and early 1970s the majority of residents of Australia supported the immigration of different groups, and supported many of the developments in the new multicultural Australia(ibid:19).

However, no doubt other opinion polls could be used to support a different interpretation of community attitudes during this period. For instance, in 1972, when the Morgan Gallup poll asked whether people wanted an immigration policy that supported a "multi-racial society" or whether they opposed this, a multi-racial prospect was supported by 37% and opposed by 49%(Goot, 1984:19). In assessing the results of opinion polls the following should be kept in mind.

But opinion polls cannot be seen as simply registering views whose existence is entirely independent of the method by which they are observed; opinion polls.....construct opinions even as they record them. They put items into people's heads; take the bewildering range of ideas, formed and unformed, that people have, determine which are interesting or relevant ones, and then squeeze them to fit some very narrow categories; and having done all that, they report them as clear, simple and separate judgments even when they may be obscure, complex and interconnected(ibid: 30).

Therefore, in weighing up the significance of the responses to opinion polls, careful attention should be given to the manner in which the questions are phrased, and what accompanying information is given about the subject-matter of the poll.

Attitudes in the 1980s

Since the mid-1970s Australia, like the rest of the Western world, has been going through a period of prolonged economic recession, marked by inflation and unemployment. Concurrently, this period has seen the growth of micro-chip technology and the economic development of Australia's Asian neighbours. These developments have meant that Australian industry has had to adjust to the changed circumstances.

The consequent structural changes have meant increased unemployment in the manufacturing and construction sectors - the basis of employment for the majority of post-War non-English-speaking migrants. In the later 1970s the Liberal-National Coalition Government attempted for a short period to rejuvenate the economy by increasing immigration, in the belief that increased population would expand internal markets and provide needed skills and labour for industries trying to introduce new technology. However, this attempt failed when newly-arrived skilled workers at large industrial concerns such as BHP were retrenched and the unemployment figures rose.

By the early 1980s the immigration policy limited the number of persons allowed entry under the 'labour category', and concentrated on refugees and family reunion. A series of numerical assessment schemes was introduced to ensure that migrants would have employment and family support, and thus not be a great drain on community resources.

In 1980 an attitudinal study of a random sample of 200 residents in Newcastle, NSW[7] was carried out at a time of economic recession in this

region in particular, and at a time when refugees from Vietnam were coming to Australia in large numbers.

Some of the results of this survey are instructive:

- i. 54% of the respondents stated that migration was still important - that migrants not only provided labour but also new ideas, skills and new ways of tackling problems.
- ii. 46% said Australia was taking in too many migrants; 12% wanted more migrants and 42% said we were taking about the right number.
- iii. In response to the statement that "...Migration should be stopped, until the economy improves", 43% disagreed, 50% agreed and 7% were neutral.
- iv. In respect to a question whether Government should bring in migrants regardless of racial background, 50% agreed, 30% disagreed and 20% were neutral.
- v. When asked whether they agreed with Government policy to bring in 15,000 Indo-Chinese refugees a year to Australia, 40% agreed, 53% disagreed and 7% said we should bring more (Liffman, 1984: 16-17).

It should be noted that it was generally unskilled, semi-workers and unemployed persons who made up the majority of those opposed to current immigration policies. Persons who were in managerial, professional and clerical positions tended to support present immigration intake policies. Generally, therefore, the survey indicated that where people were economically secure, there was little hostility to current immigration policies.

The Blainey Debate, or the Immigration Debate of 1984

The Subject-Matter of the Debate

In March 1984, in an address on multiculturalism given to a Rotary Conference in Warrnambool in NSW, Professor Geoffrey Blainey, a distinguished Australian historian and professor of history at Melbourne University, asserted that Australia's Asian immigration program was well ahead of public opinion and threatened to break down the tolerance built up in the nation over the last 30 years [8].

Professor Blainey was not entering an empty arena. The RSL (Returned Servicemen's League) had persistently called for a referendum on Asian immigration. There had been a regular and steady flow of letters to the editor, feature articles and editorials on the issue in the press in recent years. However, Blainey added a new element to an already simmering issue. A well-respected academic and influential figure, with no obvious axe to grind, came out in support of what had up till then been seen as the isolated views of extreme groups in the society.

The "Blainey view" of the level of community tolerance towards Asians, of the desirability of Asian migration, and of appropriate immigration

policies for Australia, appeared in the pages of the press in March. His comments sparked a heated public debate which continued till the end of May 1984. The debate raged in letters to newspaper editors, in newspaper columnists' articles, in editorials, and in reports of politicians' comments on the issue[9].

Opponents of Blainey's views argued against his interpretation of the immigration figures, pointing to the fact that Asian immigrants only constituted 14% of the total immigrant intake for 1984, not 40% as implied by Blainey, that as Asians were only 2% of the population they hardly constituted a threat to the society in terms of their numbers, that they made good immigrants because their values and cultural stances were similar to those of other Australians, and that they posed little or no threat to Australian job-seekers because they generally took jobs not wanted by Australians.

Those who supported Blainey's position argued that Australians should have the first right to jobs especially in times of high unemployment such as the present, that this right should be protected by significantly reducing or stopping immigration to Australia. Furthermore, Asians were seen by Blainey's supporters as posing a cultural and political threat. As Asians allegedly came from countries which were undemocratic, they were seen as lacking knowledge of how to live in a free country. This lack of knowledge could threaten the way of life in Australia.

Although Blainey claimed to be surprised by the reaction prompted by his remarks on Asian migration at Warrnambool[10], he did not desist from his position, but rather, by his own words in the ensuing months,

...encouraged dangerous rhetoric... - that immigration policy is "in tatters", "anti-British", "pro-Asian", representing "surrender Australia" - [which] not only displayed a surprising and unbecoming dogmatism but also provoked extremism on both sides of the issue(Parkin, 1984: 26).

In giving Blainey's comments the prominence and extensive coverage which it did, the press allowed the agenda for debate about immigration to be set in racial terms - the desirability of Asians as immigrants to Australia - rather than in terms of immigration levels in general, or in terms of community responsibility to develop intercultural understanding

Community Responses to the Debate

During the period of the debate there was a proliferation of opinion polls which appeared to support Blainey's view that the

pace of Asian immigration to Australia is now well ahead of public opinion, particularly public opinion in those suburbs and workplaces to which many of these Vietnamese and Kampuchean refugees will go[11].

In May 1984 the Herald (Melbourne) and the Sun-Herald (Sydney) came out with the following headlines on their front pages: "Migrant Poll Shock - Asian 'Quota' Too High, Say 62 percent" and "More Asian Migrants? 62 Percent of Aussies Say No"[12]. Both papers were reporting the McNair Gallup poll. However, as one political scientist has observed, in the same poll 64% of Australians were opposed to the total immigration intake

(Goot, 1984: 26). There was no attempt to design questions which might separate those who object to migration as such from those who object to migrants of a certain colour. Furthermore, that there are so few polls on attitudes to refugees at a local level reflects, in part, the polls' conceptions of themselves as instruments of democracy at the parliamentary level rather than as tools of a more wide-ranging social analysis(1bid:13)

On 27 August 1984 the Age Poll, reported in both the Melbourne Age and Herald[13], found that there had been no increase whatever in the number of people who wanted to keep non-Europeans out. The findings, which appeared to contradict some of the assumptions on both sides of the Blainey debate, resulted from a national survey of 2,000 people late in July covering all parts of Australia.

The results of the poll suggest that the talk of public backlash against Asian immigration, or as argued by both sides of the Blainey debate, is wide of the mark. It shows that there is no widespread backlash and moreover, the public airing of the issue by Professor Blainey has not created a new wave of racism[14].

It has come to be assumed when talking of Asian immigration to assume that areas of comparatively heavy Asian density, which are also working class, will harbour the greatest prejudice(Liffman, 1984: 15). However, the Keys Young study in the Sydney municipality of Fairfield, commissioned by the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs in 1980, found that unemployment and inflation were dominant concerns of residents in the area, rather than the influx of Vietnamese. Furthermore, 65% approved of a non-discriminatory migration policy and only 20% wanted European migration only(Keys Young, 1980).

Although there is no clear evidence that the Blainey Debate in itself has led to an increase in intergroup tension and conflict in the community, it is evident that in times of high unemployment it is easy to single out a highly visible group like the Vietnamese as a scapegoat for society's ills.

Since 1982 there has been an increasing amount of racism on the campuses of two of Sydney's universities, as evidenced by the presence of widespread graffiti, racist literature and the racial harassment and verbal abuse of Asian students. The push for such activities has mainly come from very small, extreme, openly racist groups such as National Action. Racist feelings have been focussed around the presence of private overseas students from Asian countries. In the University of New South Wales, there was no quota on overseas Asian students, and therefore in a time of unemployment and competition for places within the University they became targets of hostility (Raman, 1983: 17). The situation has been diffused somewhat by the Commonwealth Government's recent announcements that it will be imposing heavy fees on overseas students and enforcing quotas at the University of New South Wales. At the University of Sydney, which already had quotas, the Asian students themselves set up an association to combat racism on the campus.

In the wider society there have been several innovative responses to the Blainey Debate, and to the racist sentiments that have been expressed by some sections of the community:

1. The Commonwealth Government in April 1984 allotted \$200,000 over the next 3 years to commission production of a series of short media segments to promote racial and ethnic tolerance in Australia[15].
- ii. ARE (Australians for Racial Equality), a voluntary community organisation, was set up in December 1984 to act against the promotion of racism in the society. The activities of this group include: organising information campaigns against racism, liaison with the media, anti-graffiti action, research and the writing of policy documents, the organisation of seminars and public meetings. In March 1985 ARE held its first seminar on initiatives to fight racism. ARE in 1985 received a grant of \$10,000 from the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs to research strategies, to assist victims of racism, and to publish a newsletter[16].
- iii. In NSW CUAR (Combined Unions Against Racism) was set up in 1984 to promote equality and fight racism in the society.
- iv. Concerned community organisations produced a number of publications to educate the community during the Blainey Debate. For example,
 - (a) the Federation of Ethnic Communities Councils of Australia produced The Great Immigration Debate as a document of instruction for school children and the community at large. The book contains articles from leading politicians, including the Prime Minister and the leader of the Opposition, academics, prominent community figures, and unionists. Its publication was sponsored by the Human Rights Commission and the NSW Anti-Discrimination Board.
 - (b) The Ecumenical Migration Centre, a body always in the forefront of community education, produced a compilation of the press coverage of the debate and a special issue of Migration Action with articles from leading community figures, academics, unionists, educators and representatives of the Vietnamese community.

The Commonwealth Government's official response to the Immigration Debate was minimal. Although there were strong and effective statements by the Prime Minister and the Minister for Immigration in Parliament in May 1984, indicating that Government was determined to maintain a bi-partisan non-discriminatory immigration policy, Government bodies such as the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs and the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs did not enter the public debate in the media and the community at large. This is unfortunate, because such bodies could have done much to dispel the confusion and lack of information that abounded about Asian migration and settlement in Australia.

It is hoped that the new legislation, passed in 1985, emphasising AIMA's community education responsibilities, will encourage AIMA to make a positive contribution in this area in the future.

Who are 'the Vietnamese'?

A meeting was convened as a part of this study specifically with Vietnamese and others working with Vietnamese in Sydney, to attempt comparability of the experience of a particular ethnic group recently immigrant in the three countries of this comparative study (see Sources of Comment and Advice at the end of the report for list of participants at this Seminar). Some twenty people met for over four hours to discuss this experience, now spanning a decade since 1975. They provided sharp and at times moving insights into what refugees, in particular, feel, need and experience, and scarcely less moving accounts of the way dedicated adult educators and other community workers struggle with institutional inertia and unsuitable regulations to meet some of the more pressing needs. The evening also provided moments of humour and hope, as it was narrated how refugees and host workers together contrived to bend or alter the system and get results.

The focus of discussion was explicitly the Vietnamese. It is thought that something like half the Vietnamese in Australia are in New South Wales, [17] most of them in Sydney where it is said to be less hard to get jobs. However, figures for unemployment are reportedly as high as 45 or 60 per cent. Indeed the January 1985 figure for Vietnamese was 63 per cent, highest for any ethnic group and followed by the Lebanese. Seventy per cent are said to be poorly qualified or without qualifications and 60 per cent to have little or no English.

As a recently arrived group of refugees rather than voluntary immigrants the Vietnamese thus stand out. It is however, said that they are in fact significantly advantaged by these characteristics. The main refugee intake started only from about the time that Australia had officially adopted multiculturalism, from the mid-seventies, and there is some feeling that sympathy, heightened of late by overt racism (the "Blainey Debate") assisted them. They are also felt to be somewhat at an advantage compared with other Indochinese groups smaller in number and only recently so well acknowledged among refugees from SE Asia - the Khmer and Lao. On the other hand ethnic Vietnamese in turn suffer somewhat from domination of Chinese language and assumptions among those in key roles affecting refugee immigrants: thus materials supposedly translated into Vietnamese may be almost as foreign to ethnic Vietnamese as is English.

Vietnamese, and other Indochinese, differ from most earlier immigrant groups in being visibly different - Asian rather than European. They thus affront the racism of the earlier white Australia policy. The arrival of the first refugees also roughly coincided with the end of full employment and the new, harsher, economic climate which Australia shares with most Western countries. In this sense they are less rather than more fortunate than earlier settlers. It is assumed and at times asserted that - at least until the introduction of the Orderly Departure Program negotiated with Vietnam - they are people of unusual initiative and courage: the hazards and adventures of the 'boat people' are legendary. Such 'get-up-and-go' in this most literal sense might be held as a sign of energy and initiative important to success for new settlers. Yet the very high unemployment causes discussion and some self-doubt among community leaders: is it an inevitable and short-term effect of the economic

conditions on the most recently arrived and socially disadvantaged? Is it because so many Vietnamese will not take jobs deemed inappropriate? (The Post Office has become one employer acceptable within the Vietnamese community, menial though the relevant positions tend to be, but there is not room there for all.) Do the well-qualified from Vietnam refuse positions below their station and expectations (and are they wrong to do this)? Is it because of the strong family support accorded those who are hopefully preparing themselves through study for jobs? Or are some simply unwilling to make the effort of working when there is social support available? Such questions - some possibly destructive of intragroup and intergroup relations - were canvassed at the meeting.

Problems and Needs

There have been studies of Indochinese, and specifically Vietnamese, experiences in Australia, and these groups were the focus of the "Blainey Debate" in 1984. In the meeting in Sydney however, such issues of acceptance and racism were conspicuous more by their absence. What was conveyed, rather, was a sense of individual and even local community receptivity balanced by institutional inflexibility in the face of new kinds of needs. This does not mean that ethnocentrism has not been encountered: its signs are found in the meaner streets, on toilet walls and so forth, as well as in more subtle places and ways; rather that these community leaders and workers chose to concentrate on other matters presumably given higher priority. Access to information, and especially to employment, emerged as the overriding general needs. Where information was translated, the translation might be impossibly wrong. Or it might translate what was anyway originally incomprehensible bureaucratese. Or advice was available only in a fragmented way, without the context familiar to local people to give it meaning. This, and above all the information and skills, and the paper qualifications, required to obtain employment, emerged from the discussions as the pressing concerns of those responsible for the Vietnamese community and for bringing resources to it, in 1985. In this context the level of unemployment, in excess of 60 per cent, speaks for itself.

One pressing personal concern for many Vietnamese appears to be the operation of the family reunion program, especially as it affects children over 18 years of age who are excluded by Australian regulation but not by Vietnamese tradition: if unmarried they are still the children and responsibility of the parents. The stress from sense of guilt is high. In fact a change in regulation (from 1984) was being requested, so that application could at least be lodged; and this was cited as an example of the need for immigrant groups to push and protest to get results and change the system: 'if you do not argue hard to get a share of scarce resources it will all go to the doctors!', a reference to the specialists' strike then holding the State Government to ransom. The topic also illustrated the feeling of bureaucratic inflexibility: more information was needed in the refugee camps about actual conditions in Australia within the reunion programs as some people expected the streets to be paved at least with job prospects if not gold; this suggestion had been rejected (and, it was urged, communities had to press still harder on government to get changes of this kind).

The overriding need, then, emerged as economic opportunities, pressing back on the nature of educational provision and implying changes in the kinds of educational provision made for other cultural and ethnic groups.

Self-help and self-reliance as obvious Vietnamese community values could not quickly suffice without some informational and educational assistance. One gained a sense of Australia as a highly governed and rather bureaucratic society unacceptably slow to respond to new needs although generally friendly and accepting at an individual level - an impression which well accords with others' impressions and accounts of the governments and people of Australia. There were numerous anecdotal examples of the need for greater adaptability in educational provision, as well as some signs of success on the margins and in the crevices here and there. In this as in most respects the discussions reflected and amplified familiar criticisms of the education system, with the relative penury and marginality which education of adults traditionally experiences, and the difficulty over meeting needs which do not accord with the familiar and the regulations.

The most obvious and general shortcoming of standard thinking and programming is compartmentalisation: both by levels and by subject-matter. Thus immigrants have a very limited number of hours of instruction in which they are supposed to learn all they need to know about Australia, in their native language. After they have been here a certain time - two years in the main program - this form of learning is not available on the ground that they should by then be competent in English. The simultaneous form of provision is commonly an intensive English language course, terminal after a set number of hours and weeks (a number which has over the years been reduced as part of wider economies in education). An energetic and resourceful Vietnamese, himself in Australia only three years, told sorry stories of fellow-countrymen who had done two such courses and were still quite unable to cope in English, and who had no relevant learning opportunity to go on to. Adult Migrant Education Services (AMES) provision is meant to cut off at a certain level, and the work is then taken over by the Technical and Further Education (TAFE) sector. Then, in theory, immigrants can manage well enough to do, in effect, applied English, particularly English for Special Purposes (ESP) which is job-oriented. If however, someone gets a job early on, they may lose the chance to come back later for the initial bilingual orientation/acclimatisation classes. If they are strongly motivated for employment, they may have to await completion of basic English before getting on to the kind of integrated (language, cultural and job-oriented) studies which tend to have most meaning. One of the success stories, a Footwear Cooperative Class (see below), provided through TAFE Outreach, called for a sustained team effort between Vietnamese and TAFE Outreach co-workers to steer it through the college and the unions, modifying the guidelines to secure funding.

In the area where education and information coalesce, there is a failure in information in Vietnamese (even when it is thought to have been put into Vietnamese, at times; some Vietnamese interpreters "cannot in fact speak Vietnamese - it might as well be Arabic!"). Also some Vietnamese in information officer positions simply do not know the facts and give applicants wrong advice about their social security and allied rights. (Some of this is from an official urge to economise with multilingual appointments; as a result Chinese speakers tend to win out and the ethnic Vietnamese to suffer.) Some of the most tragic stories concern non-recognition of overseas qualifications, wedded to lack of jobs anyway in the Australian labour market, and a coyness, or lack of integrity, in putting these matters on the line to (refugee) immigrants. One story told of a group of Iranian refugees whose qualifications were unrecognised, in tears from being passed from official to official; none was prepared to tell them the real situation and it needed a blunt Freirean adult educator

to tell them that neither they nor their qualifications were really wanted by society, to enable them to engage with the situation and work constructively on it. We heard of a medical doctor from Vietnam who was still struggling after more than three years to get the English prerequisite to commence a six-year medical degree; his previous training and qualifications were unrecognised. (Our Vietnamese informant's advice was to take a job, say as a dental technician, and concentrate on giving his children a chance.) Then there are those Vietnamese slight of build - "you look like a fly" in the ethnic idiom - who are told they are below height regulations for certain employment; we heard of a legal suit against Telecom Australian for reputedly practising discrimination on this ground. And the architect who was unqualified to practise in Australia yet demonstrated his professional skills by building a pagoda for the Buddhist community. The relative failure of the Committee on Overseas Professional Qualifications (COPQ) attracted critical comment. Here, as in relation to the boundary areas with information services and with employment itself, educational services appear deficient as one moves from the mainstream into the non-traditional, applied and marginal areas in which conventional educational administrators feel least familiar and most ill at ease.

What has succeeded?

Despite some criticisms and disappointments, the overall tenor of Vietnamese comment was remarkably positive, perhaps overly optimistic and appreciative. One gained an impression that the 'host society' did in the main behave hospitably, if also often awkwardly and with little cultural sensitivity. It was said that those in the TAFE system, while often quite overtly racist, were not elitist and that there grew up a genuine respect for Vietnamese who with minimal English yet succeeded or excelled, mainly in those subjects which rely less on language than on other (especially mathematical and visual) symbols: these are the kinds of students with courage and determination that the decent, unpolished trades instructor comes to regard with respect and even affection. In turn, the Vietnamese incursion into regular TAFE, eg. through ESP courses, was doing much of a positive kind to open up new perspectives and approaches in the colleges, reinforced by some multiculturally oriented staff development activities.

Another less obvious "success" which the discussion identified was the community response to the 1984 Blainey affair. Instead of being trapped into a provocative response by racists (or agitators of any persuasion) the Vietnamese had held back and developed a united mutually supportive position both among themselves and with other Indo-Chinese groups. One also derived an impression from exchanges between Vietnamese leaders and participants from such Departments as Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, and Social Security, that, while the latter called for more community assertion of needs, as a basis for departmental action in response, there had been gains as a result of Vietnamese understanding and coming to grips with the systems of government in Australia. It was suggested, too, that a meeting of the State Premier with community representatives over dinner which had occurred recently, would have been unthinkable twenty years earlier. Similarly with information services and translation into community languages: while there were wry stories to be told, they should not disguise the real attempts, and partial successes, to get crucial information to Vietnamese and other groups in their own languages, both verbal and written.

In the more specifically educational arena, what stood out was the efforts of adult educators and allied workers 'at the coal-face' to find ways of meeting the needs of these new groups, and persuading their organisations to adapt to these needs. The most considerable successes, to judge by the exchanges through the evening, are in the relatively new area of TAFE Outreach. This is described (in TAFE's Outreach for February 1984) as follows:

Outreach is concerned with the links between class, education and control over circumstances.

One of the major aims of Outreach is to enable people to develop skills which allow them to take control of their own future, to shape their own lives. Outreach is thus concerned to work with those who are least powerful in society, that is those disadvantaged by class, ethnicity or sex....

The participation of such groups in the organisation, design, implementation and evaluation of educational programs is central to the empowering process, and is a fundamental aim of Outreach.

Outreach is thus an attempt to reach just such groups as the Vietnamese, those outside the mainstream of society who may be very diffident about entering a college and enrolling in regular courses. The underlying philosophy and pedagogy of at least some of its workers is overtly Freirean, as the word "empowering" above suggests, and as was spelt out lucidly during the meeting (see below). Outreach appears to have had expressed needs in ways acceptable to them. This may mean studying a subject and gaining a skill through the Vietnamese language, or working wholly or partly in English in order to gain a working use of English as well. Special groups have been convened for grandparents, and for those who are in houseparenting roles. Outreach offers 'survival English' but its English teaching tends also to address social and political issues, and matters of personal identity in an unfamiliar and often hostile society. English as a Second Language manuals are being produced on such subjects as Women in the Workplace. New Opportunities for Women (NOW) courses for migrant women seek to prepare them to enter nontraditional occupations - those traditionally the preserve of men.

One of the most interesting and evidently successful such special courses responding to a felt need was the Vietnamese Footwear Cooperative Project. Here a local Australian Outreach educator argued for the special requirements through the TAFE system while a Vietnamese TAFE worker with relevant knowledge and skills on the footwear side ensured that the instruction was relevant and practical. The class started with 15 members, dropping to 11, ten of whom got jobs within the period following the course (ie. six months later). The course combined vocational with communication skills and providing a relevant and interesting way to learn English and learn about aspects of Australian society (in contrast for example with 'survival English'). As a result efforts are being made to change the regular TAFE guidelines and allow for similar classes in panel-beating, and small business skills for women, again directed to the Indo-Chinese community.

Outreach emerged as one success area. There were also signs that TAFE generally, and AMES, were beginning to respond successfully to the new kinds of needs presented by the Vietnamese. The recent AMES industry program seeks to sensitise managers to the needs of different immigrant communities in addition to its role of providing English classes in the work-place. Two people have been working on this program for some two

years. Another AMES development stresses exploration of the unconscious below-the-surface cultural matters and taboos which can be problematic; groups go out of the classroom to experience Australian society together and examine, and have explained, the phenomena which they encounter. Bilingualism also seems to have made considerable strides, with TAFE funds for bilingual counsellors and bilingual strategies introduced into more appropriate, functional ESP TAFE programs (see Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion of these types of programs and initiatives).

Bureaucratic Dynamics - Institutional Changes and Inertia

If there are success stories of educational adaption, there is also a prominent problem of the opposite kind: the difficulty of shifting resources and regulations to meet the pressing needs of disadvantaged groups such as Vietnamese refugees. Several of those at the meeting had changed jobs within the broad area of help to immigrants, out of frustration at the blocks and barriers in their road. Other spoke with bitter energy about the frustrations and sometimes covert prejudice encountered. Mainly it seemed to be the rules and regulations, more even than the paucity of resources, which generated frustration and anger.

Those working in AMES and TAFE found that they were meant to adhere to particular definitions of both subject-matter and levels which ill accord with the practical needs of their students, or those who might otherwise have become their students. The message was clear from some working in the bureaucracies: unless community groups were vociferous and persistent practically nothing would be done: one could only move in response to clearly articulated demands and pressures.

While Outreach is successfully getting to immigrant and other groups not normally reached by regular programs, it is hampered by a restriction to short courses, maximum 108 hours. Often these are sufficient, and serve as a springboard to a regular course. Sometimes the same course and group can be continued under another name, but such stratagems can be used only so far, and some groups do end up with further valid needs which the system cannot respond to. Likewise AMES courses have been reduced from ten to nine and then eight weeks as an economy, and mostly also with fewer hours a week; they are also piecemeal and terminal rather than leading on to other courses. The short dead-end language courses which do not give access either to employment or to further relevant education attracted especial concern.

The point was made, here as at other points in the meeting, that the Vietnamese experience was a manifestation - albeit slightly more severe - of a common phenomenon in government programs, especially in the areas of training and job creation. Terms like 'stop-gap' and 'patch-work' were used. Training does not lead into real and continuing jobs, and the net result can be further to demoralise those on the courses who are left with a sense of failure: perhaps it is their own inadequacy which explains why after getting such training they are still unemployed. This self-blaming, or internalisation, of the problems of structural change and unemployment, was seen as producing real tension and even sickness among some men and especially women in the Vietnamese and other immigrant communities. Some persuasive interpretations of a Freirean nature were advanced to explain what was happening.

Marginality: Freirean approaches and perspectives

Paulo Freire is the doyen of many radical, social change-oriented, adult educators especially in the Third World. It was unusual to hear practical expositions of how his perspective was being applied to teaching in Australia. TAFE Outreach in particular is informed by a clear Freirean view of the world and the task of the adult educator working with marginal groups. The success of this approach was evidenced within the meeting in a clash between Vietnamese participants: one, involved in this work, clearly saw the Vietnamese as having equal rights in Australian society, and disagreed with others who tended to say that they had been well treated and should be very grateful for receiving social security payments. In rejecting this latently subservient position, a (non-Vietnamese) participant suggested that "Australia has done well out of racism" (referring to the hard and often exploitative labour of immigrants in building the wealth of modern Australia); "people who have profitted by it are very powerful people" and therefore, by implication, change would not be consensual or easy. This perspective, as a reflection of and parable for the larger society, was even more clear in relation to the situation and treatment of those working in the different systems with refugees and other marginal groups. AMES staff were only just going on to continuing appointments for the first time. Most of such work in TAFE was done by casual part-time teachers, mostly women. One of these, a member of the meeting, had been on such casual terms for seven years. The demand for such work was rising dramatically, yet budgets were being cut back, and the rate of pay for part-time teachers had just been cut by over 30 per cent. Thus casual and highly marginalised staff were assigned to work with marginalised people, where the supposed intention was to get such people into the mainstream of Australian life. Similarly the bi-lingual counter assistants (BML staff) of the Department of Social Security were paid a very low salary (\$8 an hour) for 14 hours of work a week, and restricted to three-monthly contracts. The most able of them naturally left very quickly, and the service acted as a training ground rather than necessarily an expert service area.

Multiculturalist or assimilationist?

Since the main Vietnamese immigration started, Australia has officially enjoyed a bipartisan policy of multiculturalism. A British participant in the meeting remarked on his impression that multiculturalism did indeed mean something and was taken seriously in Australia, compared with Britain. The point was illuminated by an anecdote about dress-making for Jamaicans; the latter were sternly rebuked that their chosen colours in combination, pink and orange, do not go together! His impression was that there was more consciousness of the needs of different ethnic groups among adult education and allied circles than he was familiar with.

On the other hand, it was pointed out that the on-arrival "survival" and similar English courses designed to enable immigrants to cope in a new society were at least covertly (rather than intrinsically) ethnocentric and assimilationist: immigrants should learn the local mores as fast as possible in order to adopt them and merge into the environment. This is counterbalanced by the gradual spread of bilingualism in teaching and in written materials; it is coming to be accepted that Vietnamese and other groups can and should be able to continue using their own language and receiving some education in it, rather than treating it merely as a temporary bridge into a monolingual English-speaking world. An "overemphasis" on the English language for jobs not requiring it was mentioned.

What is now needed?

The views expressed at this meeting, although diverse, did coalesce around several common themes. Obviously, resources are needed to strengthen adult education provision throughout relevant parts of the system. The traditional allocation of resources, especially in TAFE, simply does not reflect where the current pressing needs are - or indeed where the customers are coming into the system. This ranges from matters of staffing structure - tenure, departmental influence, and institutional budgets - to details of regulations controlling what a particular class can do, when and for how long. Resources thus runs into a wider question of identity - a matter of attitudes, standing, a reduction of marginality. Here the largest differences appeared among participants: some saw the society and the system as basically satisfactory, with need for a little touching up here and there, and maybe more effort called for on the part of the Vietnamese themselves. Others saw matters of power and inequity as deep-seated and widely pervasive, with Vietnamese and similar groups, the women more particularly, as disadvantaged and oppressed by this structure. Transformation would operate from the base up; whatever else it did, adult education should make refugees and others aware of their situation, as a basis for empowering and mobilising them to act on their world. This in turn implies breaking down the administrative categories between language, or communication, cultural or informational, and vocational, courses, and bringing these purposes together around the realities and experiences of those in the class.

Such a shift from compartmentalised to integrated teaching was also implied by others not of a clear Freirean persuasion, along with other changes in the regulations to allow the formal system to respond more flexibly. There was also unanimity over the need to give recognition to previous experience and qualifications, so that highly qualified Vietnamese did not have to go back to the basics in a profession like medicine or architecture.

Implicitly, there was also recognised a need for more general, informal, community-based education especially of the dominant community, to foster tolerance and, more positively, acceptance and appreciation, of the rich and diverse cultures making up part of modern Australia. The efforts in this direction, while laudable, are as yet miniscule in scale.

Finally, there is a need for longitudinal studies to provide data on the success of different educational and teaching strategies for meeting the goals of the learners - goals, in the case of the Vietnamese, which relate mainly to winning economic opportunities to take their place as non-dependent members of their country of adoption.

In summary, there is much to be done through nonformal and informal adult education as well as by way of getting Vietnamese into regular, mainstream, more formal adult education. Immigrants of this kind suffer severe disadvantages, from outright prejudice to inexplicable exclusion from the labour market. Much has been achieved by way of very imaginative innovation, finding ways through the restrictions of resource and regulation. The goodwill and human effort on both sides is a source for hope. The story of the 'boat people' in Sydney is a qualified success story, but there is much that adult education could still do.

NOTES ON CHAPTERS 9 AND 10

1. Sydney Morning Herald, 11 March 1983.
2. Maltese Herald, 13 June,
3. Ethnic Spotlight, Newsletter of Federation of Ethnic Communities Council of Australia, No. 2, July 1984 (Special Supplement).
4. Proceedings of the Public Meeting founding the Ethnic Communities Council of New South Wales, Sydney, 27 July, 1975.
5. See Constitution of Federation of Ethnic Communities Council of Australia (as amended on 9 December 1983), p.1.
6. This refers to the newspaper The Melbourne Age.
7. The study was carried out by Des Storer who is currently Director of Research with the Ethnic Affairs Commission of Victoria.
8. Warrnambool Standard, 19 March, 1984.
9. An excellent source of press coverage is R. Singer (ed.), The Immigration Debate in the Press 1984, CHOMI, Richmond, 1984.
10. The Age, 20 March, 1984.
11. The Age, op cit.
12. The Herald, May 19, 1984; The Sun Herald, May 20, 1984.
13. The Age Poll is conducted for 'The Age' by Irving Saulwick and Associated in conjunction with SRG Australia Ltd and the Department of Political Science at Melbourne University.
14. The Age, 27 August, 1984.
15. Speech by the Prime Minister, Mr Bob Hawke, at the dinner following the opening of the Ethnic Communities Council of Australia Headquarters, Sydney, 20 April, 1984, p. 16.
16. Newsletter, Australians for Racial Equality, February, 1985, p. 2.
17. There are approximately 70,000 Vietnamese in Australia (December 1984 figures). Of these, approximately 30,000-35,000 live in New South Wales.

In December 1984 there were 11,700 (or 31.3%) Vietnamese unemployed. The unemployment statistics have a tendency to vary quite markedly (e.g. in November 1983, there was a 45% unemployed rate, and in September 1984 a 27.3% unemployed rate).

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, The Labour Force, Australia, December 1984.

This Chapter begins with a number of specific implications for the improvement of Australian programs for immigrants and, especially, to promote multiculturalism. These correspond roughly with the sequence of chapters in Part II. The Chapter then turns to a number of broader considerations about the role and functions of adult education for such purposes.

Specific Considerations

1. AMEP

The Adult Migrant Education Program is the Commonwealth Government's major form of provision of adult education related to a multicultural society. Currently there is an annual budget of \$44 million supporting English language programs for approximately 120,000 persons of non-English-speaking background throughout Australia. At all times, but especially in a climate of economic recession, cut-backs and stringency in government spending, it is important that the AMEP should meet the particular needs of its clients by giving them the English language skills which will assist them to settle into the society as easily and quickly as possible. Otherwise the level of funding now provided for this program might be in jeopardy. The implications are as follows:

- i. In a period of high unemployment, there is heavy pressure on a large proportion of AMEP students to find work. The content of language programs should therefore especially stress the language skills which will facilitate the attainment of employment for example; job interviewing skills, report writing skills and the social and technical language of the workplace.
- ii. However, as migrants are not a uniform group in social or educational background and consequently have different needs and expectations of the AMEP, to be effective and satisfying to the students, language programs need to take into account specific needs with regard to content, methodology, teaching resources, teaching style and location of classes.
- iii. To set up needs-based programs, consultation with the client group is essential. Specific mechanisms for consultation with students and ethnic community representatives need to be set up in order that they may be able to have some direct input into the aspects listed above.
- iv. It is imperative, for the purpose of aiding the settlement of migrants that students be counselled when they complete their courses. A counselling mechanism should be set up within each AMES centre, whereby at the end of their program, students can be interviewed, advised and, if appropriate, placed in TAFE, ESP or advanced English courses, or in continuing education programs in the local community. By thus providing a bridge to further learning, the AMEP can be the first step in improving the life chances of those of non-English-speaking background.
- v. The Industry Classes or English in the Workplace program is a very important initiative for migrant workers who are employed and who would not otherwise be able to attend classes. The March 1985 announcement by the Premier of NSW that a minimum of 50 to 60

hours of on-the-job training per individual was to be introduced within a four year period in State Government Departments and authorities, is of great significance for migrants. English-on-the-job programs are thus no longer dependent on the employers' favourable disposition but become a right of the worker. To extend this right to the private sector, the Commonwealth Government may need to provide an incentive such as a pay-roll deduction for workers attending classes in the employer's time.

2. TAFE

As the largest provider of adult education programs in Australia, the Department of Technical and Further Education within each State has a vital role to play in the provision of language and training programs for persons of a non-English-speaking background. The implications are as follows:

1. The English for Specific Purposes Program with its various categories of refresher courses, introductory vocational courses, English for further studies, job seeking skills and support for existing courses within TAFE is one of the best mechanisms by which persons of a non-English-speaking background can prepare themselves to find satisfactory employment. This is particularly the case for large numbers of non-English-speaking background migrants with overseas trade and professional qualifications.
- ii. Adequate provision is needed for those who wish to gain recognition for overseas trade and professional qualifications. The Commonwealth Government's initiative in setting up the English for Specific Purposes program in 1983 in TAFE colleges deserves to be commended. There is, however, clear evidence that the resources allocated in no way meet the demand. In NSW, for example, where some \$1.8 million was allocated for 1984-85, the ESP program caters for approximately 2,000 persons. However, there are up to 80 applicants for each course which can consist of from five to twenty students. Student allowances equivalent to unemployment benefits are paid to persons attending these courses.

In a period of general restriction in Government spending, a recommendation in 1982 of the Committee of Inquiry into the Recognition of Overseas Qualifications acquires special significance: in order to assist persons of non-English-speaking backgrounds to attend bridging courses, an allowance, similar to unemployment benefit, should be paid to students in the form of an interest-free loan to be repaid within four years of commencing work in one's own professional field. The Committee also recommended that this type of allowance be provided for re-training programs as well. The availability of such an allowance would make it easier to diversify the provision of bridging and refresher courses in universities and colleges of advanced education as well as in TAFE. Adequate funding would be needed to stimulate the creation of such programs. Submissions to the Committee of Inquiry into the Recognition of Overseas Qualifications indicate that relevant faculties and departments in the various universities and colleges of advanced education are willing to establish refresher courses or bridging programs providing the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission makes adequate resources available for such courses.

- iii. One of the most significant aims of the Multicultural Education Policy Statement of TAFE in NSW is to make programs within TAFE

colleges more accessible to persons of non-English-speaking backgrounds. There have been some significant developments in the area of course information and counselling with the provision of bilingual officers. However, the problem of entry requirements which demand a certain level of English on an equal footing with English-speaking students still needs to be addressed. The whole question of appropriate methodology, in particular the use of a transitional bilingual approach in trade and para-professional courses, needs serious attention if equality of access to programs within TAFE is to become a reality.

- iv. The poor flow-on of students from the intermediate level courses of AMES to the intermediate to advanced Special English courses in TAFE indicates the urgent need for a formal mechanism linking the two and bridging the gap between them. It is recommended that AMES initiate a student counselling service on entry and departure from courses. This in no way removes from AMES the responsibility to work in close co-operation and liaison with TAFE and ensure that such a flow-on of students takes place.
- v. Although community languages are taught within the TAFE system, provision could be broadened to meet the different needs of specific ethnic communities. In addition to providing more language courses, especially those requested by the ethnic communities, further education institutions should encourage collaboration between language departments and other vocational areas within the same institution.
- vi. The most serious gap in TAFE provision is the lack of vocational training programs in languages other than English. Migrants are largely clustered in unskilled and semi-skilled technical areas, in the automotive, clothing and textile industries. As indicated in submissions to the recent Commonwealth Government Inquiry into a National Language Policy, there is an obvious need for courses such as Automotive Techniques, Clothing and Footwear, and Small Business Management to be offered bilingually in at least the major languages of ethnic groups highly represented in such industries, for example in Italian, Greek, Vietnamese, and Serbian/Croatian.
- vii. Initiatives such as Outreach which provide genuinely needs-based programs for disadvantaged groups should be strongly encouraged by the provision of adequate resources, and by flexibility in the use of the maximum of 108 hours currently allotted to such programs. Outreach is unique in providing continuing education to those of a non-English-speaking background by means of community-based programs with flexibility in course content, methodology (the bilingual method is frequently used), time and location. However, the main aim of Outreach, to encourage those who normally would not do so to participate eventually in mainstream TAFE courses, should not be overlooked. In order to facilitate access to mainstream TAFE courses, further links are needed with such courses, to develop a smooth 'flow-on' when the students feel secure and ready to cope with mainstream programs.

3. UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES OF ADVANCED EDUCATION

Universities and colleges of advanced education should play an important role in providing undergraduate and continuing education programs which

recognise and promote a multicultural society. Not only have they the professional expertise necessary to arrange specific programs for persons of non-English-background and for members of the wider society. They are also important moulders of public opinion in society. Professionals who graduate from tertiary institutions hold influential positions, and should have a full understanding of the multicultural nature of the society in which they will be practising, whether in law, teaching, medicine, dentistry or any other of the social sciences. The implications are as follows:

- i. To facilitate access to higher education for persons of non-English-speaking background, tertiary institutions could provide or arrange pre-tertiary preparation courses for students coming from the secondary school system who have difficulties with specific subject areas such as English, Mathematics and Science. Courses to update knowledge and skills could also be provided for recently-arrived migrants and refugees.
- ii. There is an urgent need for tertiary institutions to provide re-orientation, bridging and refresher courses for overseas qualified professionals. (See the discussion of the implications of this need in the TAFE section above)
- iii. Tertiary institutions should widen their base of provision of studies in community languages. The Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission could assist by restoring its earlier program of special "seeding" grants to increase the representation of certain languages and to introduce the study of new languages into the tertiary sector.
- iv. The recent Senate Standing Committee's Report On A National Language Policy indicates a shortage of ESL specialists in Australia, especially properly trained teachers of adults. The Committee recommended that CTEC, the State Higher Education Boards, and institutions of higher learning explore ways of providing more training opportunities for ESL teacher educators.
- v. The Review of Multicultural and Migrant Education (AIMA, 1980) found that there had been little progress in adequately preparing students and professionals with the specific skills and knowledge needed for practising in a multicultural society. While some developments had occurred in areas such as law, medicine, health services and social welfare, the response of tertiary institutions had been limited. Currently the only provision for specific funding in this area has been the \$195,000 allocated to eight specific professional organisations by the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission. This was a departure from a pilot program set up from 1979 to 1981. In this, funding administered by the Commonwealth Department of Education was allocated to a number of institutions, including universities and colleges, to provide cultural awareness programs to professionals working in areas with a high migrant clientele. The Galbally 14 Evaluation Study of these programs found that, despite some problems, and depending on the content and methodology of the courses, they were successful in broadening the cultural awareness of professionals. The conclusion is that such broad-based provision of cultural awareness courses by different institutions and organisations has a greater chance of reaching a wider spectrum of professionals

than what is now being supported. Support should therefore be restored for cultural awareness courses, under the auspices of the Commonwealth Department of Education, which involved tertiary institutions to a large extent. Universities and colleges of advanced education could thus be encouraged directly to foster the cultural awareness of professionals through their continuing education programs.

4. COMMUNITY EDUCATION

In order to achieve and maintain a cohesive, harmonious society in the face of such threats to stability as a high rate of unemployment and a heated public debate over the Asian immigration program, many and various kinds of community education processes are needed to ensure that public opinion is based on facts, and not on myth or conjecture which can lead to outbursts of racist activity in the community. During the recent Blainey Debate, letters to the editors of the daily newspapers and comments on talk-back radio programs showed clear evidence of a lack of information in the society about Government programs and policies on immigration and multiculturalism. Such ignorance can be easily exploited by racist groups such as National Action which unscrupulously builds on people's fears, especially in times of high unemployment, by making the Asian members of our community the scapegoats for the problems of society. In order to combat the threat to the cohesiveness of the society due to misinformation or a total lack of information in some instances, the following strategies could be adopted:

1. Informal Education

There is urgent immediate need for an Australia-wide community education campaign to provide information to the wider community about the current figures of migration; about the reasons for migration; the situation faced by different groups; the benefits of migration, and so on. Specific packages could be aimed at different groups: for example, schools, the mass media, churches, unions, and Government departments.

To be effective, a comprehensive campaign would need the allocation of a considerable amount of resources and the central direction of Commonwealth Government bodies such as the Australian Institute for Multicultural Affairs, the National Advisory and Coordinating Committee on Multicultural Education and the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs. Such a campaign could also include the consideration of human rights issues and discriminatory practices in various sectors of the community and would thus entail the involvement of the Human Rights Commission, the State Anti-Discrimination Boards and bodies at both State and Commonwealth level set up to implement the equality employment opportunity legislation.

ii. Non-Formal Education

A short-term option is to re-introduce cultural awareness programs, which are based on experiential learning methods, for professionals dealing with migrant clientele. This entails Commonwealth Government funding through CTEC for programs to be held in a variety of locations such as tertiary institutions, professional associations and community-based organisations.

Furthermore, as the Commonwealth Government and some State Governments have introduced anti-discrimination and equality of opportunity in public employment legislation, it is imperative that staff development and training programs of Government institutions include aspects on the background cultures and settlement problems and needs of persons of non-English-speaking background in the community.

iii. Formal Education

A longer term option, which is equally as important as those mentioned above, is to focus on the curricula of schools and tertiary institutions. This entails the provision of information materials and strategies to be used in the development of an understanding of Australia as a multicultural society in teacher training institutions, in curriculum development and in-service training courses, to be incorporated throughout mainstream courses in schools and tertiary institutions.

For any of the above options and strategies of community education within the context of a multicultural society to be effective, the current repressed economic climate needs to be taken into account in planning and implementation processes. Both State and Commonwealth Governments need to keep in mind in planning community education programs that the major basis for resentment of some groups towards migrants, particularly the more recently arrived and physically conspicuous Asians, is the fear of many Australians that Asians will take their jobs and thus reduce their living standards.

Governments will need to focus on economic/political solutions hand-in-hand with any programs of community education to develop harmonious relations within a multicultural society. These economic/political solutions could include: an analysis of jobs required for Australia in the 1980s; the development of appropriate training and retraining schemes for such jobs; economic policies concerned with restructuring industry; stimulating trade; developing schemes to match up the requirements of established residents and new settlers to the employment prospects of the future.

Wider Implications

It became evident early in the course of this inquiry that no study of this kind has hitherto been attempted in Australia: an overview, that is to say, of adult education in relation to aspirations for a multicultural society. This final chapter therefore began by drawing out some of the main practical implications for policy and its administration in those areas where immigration, adult education and multiculturalism obviously or indirectly connect.

The main purpose of the study however, is to contribute to a three-country comparative study. Here we turn to more general, even universal, issues likely to be of particular interest in a comparative context. First, two impressions from scholars of immigration and multiculturalism well qualified to compare the Australian situation with those of Britain and Canada. Zubrzycki holds the view that Australia has much to be proud of in terms of adopting a philosophy of multiculturalism and fashioning a coherent set of federal policies to give it effect. He comments on the miniscule size of the relevant Ottawa office and the virtual inattention to life-chance aspects in Canada compared with Australia (although some provinces have a better record). The closest achievement to Australia's he considers to be that of Sweden. Jupp calls attention to the stronger political and institutional base of some ethnic groups in both Britain and Canada, noting the role of local government as an arena for such influence in Britain, and the example of Welsh influence, for example, in the BBC. The critical position held by the French in Canada makes that situation markedly different from the Australian; note too the balance held by Ukrainians in Manitoba. Despite the fact that Aborigines number a quarter of the population in the Northern Territory, ethnic groups are generally weak, politically and geographically, in Australia; in no electorate, even at municipality level, do they hold a majority. Not only is there ethnic and ideological fragmentation; ethnic issues lack the high profile and intensity of passion which characterise British race relations: the major problem is not hostility but apathy. In Jupp's view, with the exception of Aboriginal leaders who have demanded and got substantial resources from Government (not always with productive results), leaders of ethnic groups have been too timid and got too little. (Source of Comments by Zubrzycki and Jupp: Seminar on Multiculturalism, Canberra, in April 1985)

Australia, like Canada, has a federal constitution and system of government which leaves the national level of government weak in many policy areas. There are strongly held and conflicting views as to whether Australia has an adequately clear policy commitment to multiculturalism, and adequate machinery to back up and give expression to such a conceptual position. In particular, there appears to be a view in the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, and in AIMA, that these two bodies between them provide, or will shortly be able to provide, the necessary leadership and coordination. Probably in a system like the Australian, and even in a unitary Western system of government, there is no single answer to a need of this kind. The impression of those preparing this report is, however, that some confusion exists as to whether multiculturalism has already been achieved or whether Australia is still seeking to clarify the goal and find a path towards it; also that there is a strong tendency to believe, and reassuringly to assert, that for every problem and criticism that is presented, an answer has been found and is in process of implementation. The "utopia round the corner" phenomenon is not unfamiliar to students of organisations addressing complex tasks in an uncertain environment. The conclusion of this study remains that direction, coordination and the

capacity for implementation of multicultural policies in the Australian federal system leave much to be desired, and that none of the arrangements in train show prospect of adequately meeting the needs, given the great significance of the subject for Australia's very diverse society. Whether the solution lies in making AIMA a Commission, in strengthening and refocussing the Human Rights Commission, and/or in developing new machineries, possibly of the Senate Standing Committee or Committee of Cabinet kind, we are not competent to judge. Our general conclusion is, however, that a higher level of active commitment and the capacity to guarantee delivery of policies through diverse means are both necessary in Australia's complex federal system. We make no attempt here to prescribe what machineries would be most effective at State level, but clearly, the same logic would generally prevail.

Another general conclusion, for plural free market societies like Australia, is that ethnic groups and their leaders must learn to lobby and mobilise. Governments at all levels will not go far beyond the tokenistic unless lobbying is strong enough to convey that loss of votes will result if resources are not allocated to meet the needs of ethnic groups. Top-level commitment, held to the mark by effective community lobbying, with much of the implementation especially in the more elusive, attitudinal areas of adult education carried out "bottom up" by local community groups, offers perhaps the best recipe for sustaining progress.

Adult education suffers still more from the federal arrangements which leave education essentially to the States. There is no obvious federal interest in or responsibility for promoting adult education, other than as a very weak tail to the further education part of CTEC's TAFE responsibilities. Lobbying for a national inquiry into adult education has proved unsuccessful for about a decade. In 1985 however, CTEC, through a Special Commissioner, began the first stage of an inquiry into adult, continuing and recurrent education. Coincidentally, the Australian Association of Adult Education succeeded, also after a decade of spasmodic and unsuccessful effort, in convening a broadly representative meeting intended to lead to the creation of a National Council for adult education. Thus, both the Government and the community and professional association aspects of national coordination and policy-making in adult education show signs of movement. The context for developing and implementing national policies of adult education for multiculturalism is thus more promising, even though cut-backs in public expenditure bode ill for any suggestion of new expenditures in this "soft" social policy area.

Equally elusive is the character of Australian society. What progress has been made in changing attitudes to multiculturalism in the general community? It is barely a decade ago that authors like Martin and Jupp were calling attention to major inadequacies in policies and programs, and not much longer since the need to shift from assimilation to multiculturalism was being successfully fostered by such people as these two and Zubrzycki. There has been significant progress since then in stated policies, community attitudes, and resource allocation; the shift from the early 70s and the time of Grassby's work as Minister for Immigration has indeed been remarkable. On the other hand it is pointed out that the "real Australia" which is being identified and promoted as part of the preparation for Australia's bicentennial celebrations in 1988 is the Australia of Ned Kelly, with Aborigines uneasily included as part of this misty-eyed and romanticised image. Bicentennial preparations present an opportunity to clarify and remake definitions of identity more in line with what Australia now is. Does this mean true multiculturalism, or merely the co-existence

of mutually incomprehending discrete ethnic groups? Beltz's experience, as a senior federal bureaucrat addressing many groups on these issues, is that very few really understand: they hear the words only, but continue to operate with very simple stereotypes. Zubrzycki similarly holds that the concept has yet to be fully absorbed and internalised. Linked to this, Margaret Valadian finds the concept to be inadequately formed and a lack of strategy flowing from it - a weakness of Australian administration generally. Without clear strategy and operationalisation of strategy, it is not possible to know what resources are really needed; the leap from policy to funds without the intervening steps, she sees as a fault in the area of Equal Opportunity legislation, which is significant for the multicultural policy arena. On the other side Beltz finds many of the organisations promoting multiculturalism to be little more than names on paper. He is also sceptical about some nominally multicultural policy initiatives, such as support for ethnic schools: this may be seen as mere band-aid activity, an exercise in containment judged to prevent trouble until "the problem" disappears by the third generation. (Source: Seminar on Multiculturalism, April 1985)

There is thus a continuing debate as to how far Australia has in fact made progress; as to how far it is a conceptual rather than a resource problem; even as to how far Government, as well as the community, has genuinely adopted multiculturalism and is not instead practising covert assimilationism.

It can be said with more confidence that insofar as multiculturalism is understood and accepted, it is seen as a matter for the whole society, and not only the "problem" of ethnic minorities (the latter being an attitude which leads quickly to blaming and scapegoating). There is less understanding, in Australia, of the vital role that adult education can play in matters of community attitudes and values, and in engendering attitude change. For example in a related field, development education about the Third World, the 1984 Jackson Report, in condemning the very inadequate provision currently made in this field, made clear that the new resources recommended for this area of community education should be allocated mainly to school education, for it was in the schools that attitudes would change. In contrast, this study not only assumes a major role for adult education, involving host as well as immigrant communities; it also adopts a very wide understanding of adult education, to include the informal influences of the mass media, mass campaigns (such as Australia's health-oriented "Life Be In It" campaign, over the success or failure of which much ink has been spilt without clear resolution) and informal highly localised community and neighbourhood approaches.

This study does not go into technical questions about the efficacy of different methods and techniques of adult education, especially in the affective or attitudinal areas. It acknowledges that this is an important but difficult area, and that little is known with any confidence, certainly from Australian research and experience, about what really works. The mass media, especially television, and other modern audio-visual and distance applications of technology for education, are seen by some as holding out great promise - the TV soap opera, for instance, for changing attitudes by identification with its more popular characters. Jupp and Beltz, on the other hand, pointed out in the course of this inquiry what they see as highly destructive influences of television: Jupp finds the mass media the major threat to our different cultures - "the Disneyland mishmash of ethnic food, dancing, etc." which would have everyone doing the same superficial thing across the nation depending on the day of the year.

Behind this, as behind much of the discussion which contributed to this report, lies a major issue of intention and effect: the intention behind different approaches to multiculturalism using adult education, and the effects of these on the direction of change of society. For some, tolerance and promotion of cultural diversity is the beginning and end of the work; for others access to opportunity and reduction of inequality is the more important concern. Some consider that the whole debate should shift to human rights and away from multiculturalism per se. Clearly, very different roles for and styles of adult education are implied: cultural, entertainment and leisure-oriented; compensatory or ameliorative; or directed to significant structural change in society. The Vietnamese case study brought out these issues very clearly, with its references to the philosophy and methodology of Freire.

Two issues link and intertwine through such a discussion: what kind of change is desirable, and how does change occur? Social critics of Marxist and similar persuasion tend to perceive ethnic relations and immigration essentially in terms of class relations and in terms of political and economic power. Policy initiatives in turn tend to be perceived as politically inspired by their very nature. Zubrzycki, in an absorbing contribution to the Canberra seminar for this study, narrated how a multicultural policy was introduced, as he experienced, by Permanent Secretary for Immigration Hayden's "kitchen cabinet" of well-informed administrators and advisers: a rationally rather than politically inspired response to a perceived problem and need.

A leading British proponent of adult education for women's liberation, Jane Thompson, in a visit to Australia in 1985 highlighted for some who met with her, a characteristic of Australian assumption and practice not always noticed by those working within adult education for social change there. Australia, with its federal system and particular history, is often described as heavily over-governed and over-administered; the plethora of inquiries and reports into immigration and multiculturalism perhaps bear witness to this. In the area of women's rights and opportunities, Australia has leaned heavily to policy and legislative initiatives of a "top-down" kind; Thompson implied some scepticism and discomfort over this, inclining rather to radical groups in the local community to bring about change "bottom-up". A policy and program for adult education to promote multiculturalism in Australia can not sensibly ignore this strategic, and unavoidably ideological, choice. On the whole this study, in its conclusions, tends towards an evasion of absolute choice in concluding that change is multipronged and multi-faceted, implying a number of different roles for adult education. This is not to deny, however, that the more significant efforts, which address the most pressing matters of access and equity, are inescapably political in their implications. An adult education repertoire which fails to include these will be inadequate.

This touches in turn upon the marginality or significance of efforts in adult education, and the adequacy of resource allocation. Those familiar with immigration/multiculturalism policy and practice tended in this inquiry to describe resource allocation as "peanuts". The Vietnamese case study certainly confirmed this, in situations of great need, with a strong impression of tokenism, and in effect the exploitation of fine, committed, community-based adult educators with very inadequate resources, recognition, conditions of employment, and remuneration. It is impossible in this study to state with accuracy how much is allocated to adult education nationally or within New South Wales, but it is clear that the lion's share

goes to one or another kind of language instruction, very little to attitudinal work and still less to those endeavours which attempt Freirean-style conscientisation and mobilisation.

In the present climate it is unlikely that any form of adult education for multiculturalism will attract significant new sources of public funding, especially those aspects of adult education not closely connected with economic production, such as training for job-skills. This means that little will change in the public sector of adult education without redeployment of existing resources to ethnic groups and to multiculturalism. Given the political inexpediency of this, it becomes clear that "mainstreaming" is of special importance if members of ethnic minorities with special needs are to get significant benefits. Probably Freirean-style work will never be more than a small fraction of total effort, though it should be given particular attention by adult educators as the cutting edge for social change. Tactically speaking, mainstreaming probably holds out the best hope for an effective redistribution of some of the resources of more formal adult education directly to assist members of disadvantaged ethnic groups.

One area which has proved very fruitful in New South Wales has been courses for migrants and members of ethnic minorities which directly address their needs for employment, and which are associated with and preferably located in the workplace. This is true, even though the bulk of the subject-matter may still be English language. Such functionally applied courses have a better chance of attracting funds in the present climate than most. They also measure up well in terms of modern principles of adult learning. Here, as in so much of this study, one finds adult education for ethnic minorities and for multiculturalism serving somewhat as a metaphor for adult education and society in general. Its marginality, paucity of resources, ambiguity of objectives, and inadequate knowledge of what really works best, all echo, amplified, characteristics of adult education at large. So does the tendency still to look to the schools for the main educational effort, even in areas of community attitudes which are far more the province of adults than of children. In many respects this study has thus reinforced the case both for giving adult education more recognition and centrality, and for creating the bridges, linkages and other forms of flexibility and diversity within the system which would move the whole educational enterprise further towards a model of recurrent education.

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APPENDICES

TABLE: HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF ADULT MIGRANT EDUCATION PROGRAM

1947	. Continuation Classes started
1948	. Shipboard education program introduced
1949	. Pre-embarkation education program commenced
	. Radio and Correspondence Courses began
1951	. States agreed to organise, conduct and supervise continuation classes and correspondence courses and assume responsibility for instruction in holding centres and to provide educational facilities for adult migrants subject to the Commonwealth reimbursing the expenditure incurred and subject to overall coordination of policy by the Commonwealth
1969	. Commencement of Full-time Intensive Courses
	. Part-time Accelerated Courses introduced
	. Part-time Courses for advanced students began
1971	. Immigration (Education) Act passed
	. Migrant Education Television project initiated
1972-77	. Migrant Education Centres established in all mainland capital cities
1973	. Full-time Accelerated Courses introduced
	. Introduction of Courses in Industry
	. Amendment to the Immigration (Education) Act 1971
1974	. Home Tutor Scheme established
1977	. First Summer Vacation Courses
	. On-Arrival Courses for Indo-Chinese refugees started
	. Consultative Committees established
1978	. Report of Galbally Enquiry into Post-Arrival Programs and Services for Migrants

TERMS OF REFERENCE: REVIEW OF THE ADULT MIGRANT EDUCATION PROGRAM

The Government's policy in regard to adult migrant education is:

- . to ensure that migrants on arrival in Australia, and subsequently, have access to information essential to their successful settlement in Australia;
- . to recognise that a critical need of non-English-speaking migrants (including refugees) is the ability to communicate in English; and
- . to accept that all adults who do not communicate in English adequately for their needs must have the opportunity to learn English.

The AMEP is part of the Commonwealth's post-arrival programs and services for migrants. It provides English language learning opportunities for non-English-speaking migrants and orientation information to new settlers. It is administered by the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs and delivered by State and Territory educational authorities and some tertiary institutions.

Within that context, the Review will -

- (a) examine the existing aims and objectives of the AMEP and assess their appropriateness in light of Government policy for the provision of English language and orientation programs for migrants. The appropriateness of Section 4(1) of the Immigration (Education) Act 1971 should also be assessed.
- (b) examine the extent to which the program is reaching and meeting the needs of non-English-speaking migrants including the needs of women, of young people, of the aged, of the disabled and of those illiterate or semi-literate in their mother tongues.
- (c) examine the appropriateness of the English language learning program in the light of current thinking relating to the nature of adult learning.
- (d) examine the appropriateness of curriculum resources used to achieve the aims and objectives of the program; the appropriateness of educational methodologies which are in use; the appropriateness of systems for the planning, monitoring and evaluation of English courses.

TABLE A: AUSTRALIAN SECOND LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY RATINGS - LEVEL 2

LEVEL 2 : MINIMUM SOCIAL PROFICIENCY

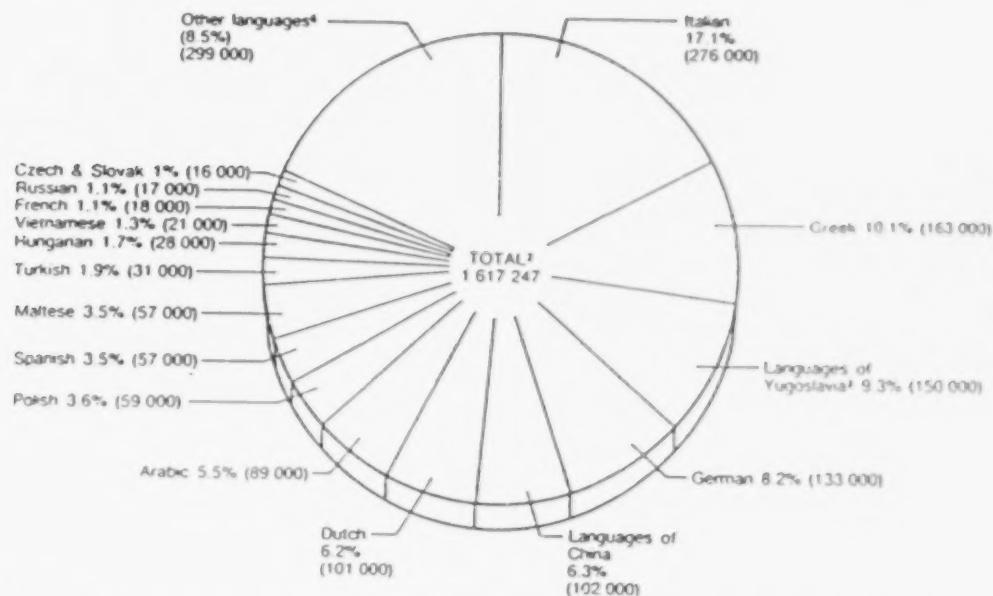
SKILL	GENERAL DESCRIPTION	SPECIFIC EXAMPLES
Speaking	Able to satisfy routine social demands and limited work requirements.	Can describe and converse on everyday things in his/her environment; can describe most recent job/activity.
Listening	Able to understand in routine social situations and limited work situations.	Can take simple phone messages, can comprehend and act on sequential instructions at work, can get the gist of radio news.
Writing	Able to satisfy routine social demands and limited work requirements.	Can fill out most forms met in everyday life; can write a simple report on an everyday event.
Reading	Able to read simple prose, in a form equivalent to typescript or printing, on subjects with a familiar context.	Using a bilingual dictionary, can get the sense of everyday written material and simple technical material.

TABLE B: AUSTRALIAN SECOND LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY RATINGS - SPEAKING

<u>Level</u>	<u>General Description</u>	<u>Specific Examples</u>
0	<u>ZERO PROFICIENCY</u> Unable to function in the spoken language.	
0+	<u>INITIAL PROFICIENCY</u> Able to operate only in a very limited capacity within very predictable areas of need.	Can give name, age, address, etc. Some basic greetings.
1-	<u>ELEMENTARY PROFICIENCY</u> Able to satisfy immediate needs using learned utterances	Fragments that may consist of no more than (eg) noun, verb, modifier.
1	<u>MINIMUM SURVIVAL PROFICIENCY</u> Able to satisfy basic survival needs and minimum courtesy requirements.	Hesitations, fractured syntax, many repetitions, but can maintain very simple conversations on familiar topics.
1+	<u>SURVIVAL PROFICIENCY</u> Able to satisfy all survival needs and limited social demands.	Can cope with less routine situations. Can explain with limited precision.
2	<u>MINIMUM SOCIAL PROFICIENCY</u> Able to satisfy routine social demands and limited work requirements.	Can describe and converse on everyday things in his/her environment; can describe most recent job/activity.
3	<u>MINIMUM VOCATIONAL PROFICIENCY</u> Able to speak with sufficient accuracy and vocabulary to participate in most formal and informal conversations on practical, social and vocational topics.	Confidence in most social situations and own work situation. Can present own and others' ideas and attitudes. Can cope with everyday, difficult linguistic situations.
4	<u>VOCATIONAL PROFICIENCY</u> Able to use the language fluently and accurately on all levels normally pertinent to personal, social, academic or vocational needs.	Can convey exact meaning in social and vocational discussions. Can modify speech deliberately according to the situation.
5	<u>NATIVE-LIKE PROFICIENCY</u> Speaking proficiency equivalent to that of a native speaker of the same socio-cultural group.	Can handle humour and innuendo effectively.

LANGUAGES SPOKEN IN AUSTRALIA

Figure 2.2: Australia's overseas-born population by mother tongue¹ (non-English-speaking) in 1981



Notes:

1. Mother tongue as imputed by the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs using the notes and assumptions in the Evidence, 31 October 1983, p. S2491.
2. Total represents 11% of Australia's total population or 54% of the total overseas-born population (including English-speaking).
3. Croatian, Macedonian, Serbian and Slovenian.
4. Chiefly Cantonese, Hakka, Hokkien dialects and Standard Chinese.
5. Includes the Lebanese dialect of Arabic.
6. Individual languages spoken by less than 1% include:

Aboriginal languages	Danish	Japanese	Norwegian	Tatar
Afrikaans	Estonian	Kazakh	Portuguese	Tetum
Albanian	Farsi	Khmer	Punjabi	Thai
Amharic	Fijian	Korean	Romanian	Timorese
Armenian	Finnish	Kurdish	Samoan	Tongan
Assyrian	Gaelic	Lao	Singalese	Ukrainian
Basque	Hebrew	Latvian	Sindhi	Urdu
Bengali	Hindi	Lithuanian	Sri Lankan	Uzbek
Buganian	Icelandic	Malay	Swedish	Welsh
Burmese	Indonesian	Malayian	Tagalog	Yiddish
	Iranian	Maori	Tamil	

Source: 1981 Census, Australian Bureau of Statistics